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Vol. 16 1940

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BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
(New Series)

EDITED BY

DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., PH.D. (Berlin)
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PROF. N. K. BHAGWAT, M.A.

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ṚGVEDIC SIMILES

II. SIMILES OF THE ATRIS (Ṛ.V. MAṆḌALA V.)

(Translated into English and annotated)

By H. D. VELANKAR

INTRODUCTION.

1. The first article on this subject giving the Similes of the Vāmādevas was published in this *Journal* for 1938, pp. 1-47. This is the second. I intend to treat the similes of the Atris in Ṛ.V. Maṇḍala V, on the same lines as before. Only, instead of arranging the similes under the different heads as before, I have given them here in the order in which they occur in the Maṇḍala and have indicated at the end of this Introduction, how they are to be classified according to my plan explained in the last article. It seemed to me that my arrangement of the similes under the different heads may give rise to an impression that I wanted to assert that the Vedic poets were aware of such a careful division of the Upamā into its subvarieties and knowingly made use of these, like Kālidāsa and other Classical poets. As a matter of fact, I never meant this. The subdivisions of Upamā which I have adopted in my last article and the terms which I have employed to signify them are merely for the sake of convenience. I have never tried to look into a simile in the Ṛgveda, what is not warranted by the strictest rules of scientific interpretation. It will always be found that in interpreting a Vedic simile, I have been guided by the Ṛgvedic usage alone and by no other considerations, except those that are permitted by the environments of the particular passage where the Upamā occurs.

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2. As said in para 3 of my last article, Śabdālaṃkāras of an intricate nature are generally absent in the R̥gveda. Yet a Śabda-Śleṣa seems surely to be intended in Nos. 33 and 36. And besides, the words are put to different use in producing resonance and other sound effects intentionally. Thus we find the (1) repetition¹ of a noun, an adjective, or a verb with different forms in succession; (2) employment² of words with similar endings; (3) employment³

¹ शुचिः शुचिभिः 1.3 ; जनिष्ट जेन्यः 1.5 ; हितो हितेषु 1.5 ; मार्जाल्यो मृज्यते 1.8 ; भानुभो भानुमन्तं 1.11 ; वसां राजानं वसतिं जनानां 2.6 ; निन्दितारो निन्द्यासः 2.6 ; अघमघशंसे 3.7 ; वसुपतिं वसूनां 4.1 ; वाजं वाजयन्तः 4.1 ; प्रत्नं प्रत्नासः 8.1 ; ध्मातेव धमति 9.5 ; शुष्मेभिः शुष्मिणः 10.4 ; स्तुतः स्तवानः 10.7 ; ऋतेन ऋतं 15.2 ; धरुणं धारयन्तः 15.2 ; तन्वस्तन्वते 15.3 ; वज्रेः वज्रिः 19.1 ; वक्ष्यो वक्षणेस्थाः 19.5 ; देवं वो देवयज्यया 21.4 ; नृवदमृत नृणां 18.5 ; नविष्टाय नवमं 27.3 ; पचन्पक्तीः 29.11 ; अर्चन्त्यर्कं 30.6 ; मायामिर्मायिनं 30.6 ; नृतमस्य नृणाम् 30.12 ; सहः सहसः 31.3 ; इन्द्र इन्द्रियाणि 31.3 ; वृष्णे यत्ते वृषणो अर्कमर्चान् 31.5 ; वज्रेण वज्री 32.4 ; महि महे 33.1 ; पूर्वीषु पूर्व्यं 35.6 ; वृषा वृषभ्यां 36.5 ; दातुं दामनः 36.1 ; वाजिनौ वाजिनीवान् 36.6 ; क्षेति क्षितीः 37.4 ; सोमं सोमपते 40.1 ; कवितमं कवीनां 42.3 ; शमीं शशमानस्य 42.10 ; सद्ने सादयध्वं 43.12 ; उरुषां उरु जयः 44.6 ; भगो विभक्ता 46.6 ; सचेमहि सचथ्यैः 50.2 ; युयोतु युयुविः 50.3 ; विप्रेभिर्विप्र 51.3 ; यज्ञं यज्ञियेभ्यः 52.5 ; गिरा गृणीमहे 53.16 ; तरेम तरसा 54.15 ; वृष्टिं वर्षयथ 55.5 ; महान्ति महतां 59.4 ; प्रयुधः प्रोत युयुधुः 59.5 ; सुवृधोः ववृधुः 59.5 ; श्रिये श्रेयांसः 60.4 ; विश्वे हि विश्ववेदसः 67.3 ; देवो देवेषु 68.2 ; ऋतं ऋतेन 68.4 ; त्रायेथां सुत्रात्रा 70.3 ; यामन्यामहूतमा 73.9 ; पौर पौराय 74.4 ; विप्रो विप्रवाहसा 74.7 ; रथो रथानां 74.8 ; येष्टो यातु 74.8 ; सुवाति सविता 82.3 ; 9 ; सवितुः सवे 82.6 ; अवर्षीर्वर्ष 83.10 ; वर्षन्ति वृष्टयः 84.3 ; अहावि हव्यं 86.6 ; पृथु पप्रथे 87.7 ; and यज्ञं यज्ञियाः 87.9.

² ते हिन्विरे त इन्विरे 6.6 ; अमृतासस्तुरासः 42.5 ; शंसते स्तुवते 42.7 ; दमूनसो अपसो 42.12 ; स्तनयन्तं रुवन्तं 42.14 ; अब्दिमान् उदनिमान् 42.14 ; प्रत्नथा पूर्वथा 44.1 ; शवसावसा 46.6 ; ददता घ्नता जानता 51.15 ; सत्यशवसं ऋभ्वसं 52.8 ; आपथयो विपथयो 52.10 ; अन्तःपथा अनुपथाः 52.10 ; अनितभा कुभा 53.9 ; पिशङ्गाश्वा अरुणाश्वा 57.4 ; सुभ्वश्वारवः 59.3 ; सुजाते अश्वसूतते 79.1 ; सुनीथे शोचद्रथे 79.2 ; द्विपदे चतुष्पदे 81.2 ; जिहते पिन्वते 83.4.

³ उत्तानां ऊर्ध्वं 1.3 ; सूर्ये संचरन्ति 1.4 ; अग्ने अहां 1.4 ; 5 ; वचो वन्दार वृषभाय वृष्णे 1.12 ; अग्ने अनुशिष्ट आगाम् 2.8 ; शिशीते शृङ्गे 2.9 ; अग्निं अमृता अवोचन् 2.12 ; मरुतो मर्जयन्त 3.3 ; वयं वनुयाम वसूयवः 3.6 ;



Rgvedic Similes

3

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of words with similar resonant beginnings; (4) repetition¹ of a word at the beginning of each line or even in the middle of it; (5) repetition² of the same word at the beginning of two or more

विभुर्विभावा 4.2; अस्माकं अग्ने अध्वरं 4.8; सुजातासः सूरयः 6.2; शुक्रस्य शोचिषः 6.5; ब्राधन्त वाजिनः 6.7; सखायः सं वः सम्यच्चः 7.1; आदग्ने अंष्टुणतोत्रिः 7.10; सुशर्माणं सुशवसं 8.2; गीर्भिर्गृणन्तः 8.4; सम्यक् संयन्ति 9.5; धर्ता धरुणः 15.1; समिधानः सहस्रजित् 26.6; उद्धर्षयन्ति उक्षणः 27.5; अहहर्हि 29.3; वितरं विष्कभायत् 29.4; पुरन्दरः पपिवान् 30.11; अजगन् अवस्युः 31.10; सखायं सुतसोमं 31.12; आत् अस्मात् अन्यो अजनिष्ट 32.3; अयुक्तासो अब्रह्मता 33.3; नृम्णानि च नृतमानः 33.6; -अमित्रयन्तमद्रिवः 35.5; शूर शिप्रे 36.2; वृषा वृषभ्यां वहसे; वृषकतो वृषा वज्रिन्; वृषणं वर्धतु 36.5; संयती सं जयाति 37.5; शर्मन् शतक्रतो 38.5; वृषभिर्वृत्रहन्तमा 40.1; विदुषीव विश्वं 41.7; ऋजुहस्ता ऋजुवनिः 41.15; जरां चिन्मे जग्रसीत 41.17; अतूर्तपन्था असुरः 42.1; स्विषुः सुधन्वा 42.11; जरिता जोहवीति 43.1; मधोर्मदाय 43.6; वक्षि विश्वान् 43.10; दम् आ दीदिवांसं 43.12; वृषभो वयोधाः 43.13; दंहत यौः 45.2; वणिग्वक्त्रु 45.6; अपामपि व्रते 46.7; स्वक्षत्राय स्वयशसे 48.1; वयुनं वीरवक्षणं 48.2; अपो अपाचीरपरा अपेजते 48.2; वरिष्ठं वज्रं 48.3; दुद्रवद्रोण्यः 50.4; ऋष्वा ऋष्टीः 52.6; शिप्राः शीर्षसु 54.11; सुसदशः सुपेशसः 57.4; मियसा भूमिरेजति 59.2; परमस्याः परावतः 61.1; अदेवत्रात् अराधसः 61.6; ऋतावृधा ऋतावाना 65.2; ऋतस्पृशः ऋतावानः 67.4; सुनीथासः सुदानवः 67.4; रजसो रोचनस्य 69.4; पक्वा पृक्षः 73.8; सावीः सौभगं 82.4; विश्वा वामानि 82.6; सत्यसवं सवितारं 82.7; पर्जन्यः पृथिवीं 83.4; महीं मायां 85.5; 6; सुशुक्लानः सुभ्वः 87.3; समानस्मात्सदसः 87.4; विसर्धसो विमहसः 87.4.

¹ त्वं 3.1 *acd*; वयं 3.6 *acd*; 4.7 *ab*; अस्मे 4.7 *cd*; स्वाहा 5.11 *abc*; अस्तं 6.1 *abcd*; आ 7.9 *acd*; अग्निः अग्निं 11.4 *abcd*; तुभ्यं 11.5 *ab*; ऋत 12.2 *abd*; के 12.4 *abcd*; अर्चन्तः 13.1 *abc*; मनुष्वत् 21.1 *abc*; अग्निः 25.4 *abcd*; ददत् 27.4 *cd*; त्री 29.1 *ab*; यत् 35.2 *abc*; अस्मभ्यं 38.4 *cd*; सम् 42.4 *abcd*; न 42.6 *cd*; ये 42.8 *cd*; आ 42. 18 *cd*; या 43.9 *cd*; यो जागार 44.14 *abc*; अग्निर्जागार 44.15 *abc*; यया 45.6 *cd*; अया धिया 45.11 *cd*; उत 46.4 *abcd*; स्वस्ति 51.11 *abcd*; 14 *abcd*; अध 52.11 *abc*; मा वः 53.9 *abc*; वि 54.4 *abcd*; न 54.11 *abc*; प्रवल्ती 54.9; यूयं 54.14 *abcd*; युङ्ध्वं 56.6 *abc*; यत् 73.1 *abcd*; उत 81.4 *abcd*; 5 *abcd*; यस्य व्रते 83.5 *abc*; या 86.2 *abc*; प्र 87.1 *ac*; 2 *ab*.

² आ ते अग्ने 6.4 and 5; (also cf. तव त्वे अग्ने 6.6 and न वा नो अग्ने 6.7); त्वामग्ने 8.1 to 7; त्वं नो अग्ने 10.2 and 3; and 7; अग्निः 25.4 to 6; उत

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consecutive stanzas; (6) repetition¹ of a group of words from the preceding, in the following stanzas; (7) employment² of words implying a sharp contrast; (8) refrains³; (9) Antya⁴ Yamaka; (10) immediate repetition⁵ of a whole line with only a slight change; and (11) an abundant use of purely expletive particles⁶ for syntactical ornamentation. Among the Arthālaṅkāras, we have, in the Vth Maṇḍala, a few Rūpakas⁷ and Atiśayoktis⁷ in addition to the Upamās. There are also a few examples of a Nidarsanā; see No. 180.

3. As observed in para 5 of the last article, the Vedic Upamā is generally Śrautī and not Ārthī. This means that a particle like *na* or *iva*, or *yathā* is used to express the Upamā, but not an adjective

त्ये मा 33.8 to 10; त्वं चित् 32.4 to 6 and 8; अस्माकमिन्द्र 35.7 and 8; सज्जः 51.9 and 10; स्वस्ति 51.14 and 15; उत 81.4 and 5; य इमा 82.8 and 9; प्र ये 87.2 and 3.

¹ अभिर्होता निषसाद 1.5 d and 6 a; प्राप्ति अन्यान् 1.8 d; अत्येषि अन्यान् 1.9 a; क्षेत्रादपश्यं 2.3 b; 4 a; यो वसुः 6.1 a; 2 a; आ यन्ति धेनव 6.1 b; 2 b; also see 30.10 d and 11 a; 41.19 b and c; 52.13 c and 14 a; 81.2 d and 3 a; 85.3 d and 4 a.

² अमर्त्य मर्त्यः 4.10; शिवासः सन्तः अशिवा अभूवन् 12.5; ऋजूयते ऋजिनानि ब्रुवन्तः 12.5; मर्ता अमर्त्य 14.2; जातैरजातान् 15.2; अजामि जाम्योः 19.4; अदब्धः शश्वतो दभः 19.4; मर्ता अमृत 31.13; अमर्मणो विददिदस्य मर्म 32.5; तवसे अतव्यान् 33.1; दासमार्यः 34.6; अदन्नया दयते वार्याणि 49.2; प्रथिष्ठ पृथिवी चित् 58.7.

³ 6.1 to 10; 55.1 to 9; 72.1 to 3; 75.1 to 9; 78.1 to 3; 79.1 to 10.

⁴ 1.7 cd; 11 ab; 7.4 ab; 27.4 cd; 76.2 acd; 82.5 bc.

⁵ 2.12 de; 20.4 de; 21.4 de; 22.4 de; 23.4 de; 27.4 cd; 35.8 de; 38.5 cd; 39.5 de; 41.16 bc; 17 bc; 50.5 de; 52.17 de; 56.6 cd; 67.5 cd; 86.6 de.

⁶ अङ्ग (only once); अध (16 times); अह (8 times); इत् (40 times); उ (25 times); कं (5 times); घ (twice only); सु (15 times); स्म (15 times); ह (10 times); हि (50 times).

⁷ गणस्य रशनां 1.3; जुह्वमिः 1.3; श्वतो वाजी 1.4; वाजिनं 1.7; कुमारं माता युवतिः 2.1 to 4; त्वं वरुणः मित्रः &c 3.1 and 2; शुक्रमर्णः (नाकं) 45.10; वर्षं खेदं चक्रिरे 58.7; रुशद्गवि (अमौ) 64.7; रुशत्पशुरग्निः 75.9; गृध्रादररुषः (सूर्य) 77.1; वृषभः (पर्जन्यः) 83.1; सिंहस्य स्तनथाः 83.3; वृष्णो अश्वस्य (पर्जन्यस्य) 83.6; उदन्वता रथेन (मेघेन) 83.7; हति (मेघं) 83.7; कोशं (मेघं) 83.8; घृतेन (पर्जन्येन) 83.8.



like *tulya* or *sadrśa*. Only sometimes, the affix *vat* is used in the sense of *tulya* and then the Upamā may be called an Ārthī Tadhitaḡ according to Kāvyaṡrakāśa. In the Vth Maṇḡala, *yathā* is used 14 times in all, *iva* is used 76 times and *na* is used 78 times. The rule¹ about the use of *na* as deduced from the practice of the Vāmādevas and as mentioned in para 10 of my last article, is violated only 11 times, and that about *iva* only 7 times. This means that *iva*² is used 11 times where *na* was expected and *na*³ is used 7 times where *iva* was expected. The affix *vat*⁴ is used 8 times in all. We have three clear examples of Utpreksā, namely Nos. 54, 129 and 143; but see also Nos. 19, 67, 161 and 167. No. 6 is an example of Vākyopamā.

4. As regards the different aspects of the syntax of the similes, I have not discussed them in the present article, since it was found that it had hardly anything to do with the conscious Art of the poet in the Rgveda. Here, however, I merely point out that in Nos. 3, 57, 64, 73, 84 and 91, the Upameya and the Upamāna do not agree with each other in respect of their cases.

5. As promised in para 1, I give below the classification of the similes of the Atris according to the plan followed in the last article:—

Group I. Fully expressed compound similes: (a) those with *na*:—Nos. 7, 48, 64, 69, 73, 75, 76, 84, 90, 95, 113 and 166; (b) those with *iva*:—Nos. 3, 4, 24, 26, 45, 100, 101, 134, 151, 165, and 170.

Group II. Partially expressed compound similes: (a) those with *na*:—Nos. 9, 29, 55, 57; (b) those with *iva*:—Nos. 43, 51, 52, 118, 136 and 163.

Group III. Simple similes with a qualified Upamāna: (a) those with *na*:—Nos. 8, 12, 16, 17, 22, 23, 27, 35, 50, 56, 58, 59, 66, 79, 80, 87, 89, 119, 121, 128, 132, 140, 164, 168, 173, 175, 176, and 179; (b) those with *iva*:—Nos. 2, 44, 47, 65, 78, 82, 92, 94, 96, 106, 108, 110, 112, 120, 122, 131, 152, 153, 160, 161 and 162.

Group IV. Simple similes with a simple Upamāna: (a) those with *na*:—Nos. 5, 20, 21, 25, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 46, 53, 62, 68, 71, 72, 74, 77, 91, 98, 99, 103, 105, 109, 111, 124, 138, 142, 147, 172, 174 and 178; (b) those with *iva*:—Nos. 1, 11, 14, 18, 28, 40,

¹ Briefly stated, the rule is that the poet selects *na* generally, when the Upamāna ends in *am* (of the accusative) or a Visarga, both preceded by a short vowel, i.e. *a*, *i* or *u*; and that he selects *iva* generally, when the Upamāna ends in a vowel like *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, or in a Visarga, preceded by a long vowel.

² Nos. 1; 14; 24; 45; 82; 101; 112; 133; 134; 136 and 146 = 11 in all.

³ Nos. 12; 34; 79; 91; 99; 119; 160 = in all 7.

⁴ 10; 13; 38 (3); 39; 85; 144.



41, 49, 60, 63, 70, 81, 83, 86, 88, 107, 114, 115, 116, 117, 123, 125, 126, 127, 130, 135, 137, 139, 141, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 159, 167, 169 and 171.

6. Finally, I wish to draw the attention of my readers to my interpretation of the similes in the following numbers:—

Nos. 11, 29, 32, 34 to 36, 49, 51, 55, 62, 67, 75, 90 to 94, 98, 99, 108 to 110, 113, 125, 140 to 142, 146, 168, 169, 170.

SIMILES OF THE ATRIS

(R.V. MAṆḌALA V.)

(1) अबोधुमिः समिधा जनानां प्रति धेनुमिवायतीमुषासम् ।

V. 1. 1ab.

‘Agni is kindled by the fuel of men, to meet the Dawn coming (towards us) like a milch cow.’

-*āyatīm* is the common term; *iva* here seems to be selected to avoid a hiatus.

(2) यद्वा इव प्र वयामुज्जिहानाः प्र भानवः सिस्त्रते नाकमच्छ ॥

V. 1. 1cd.

‘Like the active (birds) leaving the branch of a tree (on which they rest during the night), his flames move up towards the firmament.’

The common term is *nākam accha pra sisrate* and *vayām pra ujjihānāḥ yāhvāḥ* is a qualified Upamāna. In the morning, both Agni’s flames and birds move up towards the sky from their respective abodes. -*ud*+ $\sqrt{ha}$ means ‘to abandon’ and governs the accusative.

(3) अग्निमच्छा देवयतां मनींसि चक्षूषीव सूर्ये सं चरन्ति ।

V. 1. 4ab.

‘The minds of the pious turn towards Agni as their eyes do towards the Sun.’

This is a compound simile; the minds and Agni are respectively compared with the eyes and the Sun. But since both the Upamānas and the Upameyas are Prakṛta (in the morning, the priests look up to the rising Sun and meditate upon Agni), *iva* has the force of a conjunctive particle. Mark the use of the accusative and *accha* as an equivalent of the locative (*agnim accha = sūrye*). *saṁ caranti* is the common term.

(4) गविष्ठिरो नमसा स्तोममग्नौ दिवीव रुक्ममुहुव्यश्चमध्रेत् ।

V. 1. 12ad.

‘Gaviṣṭhira has fixed his hymn with prayer in Agni, as he did the wide-striding Gold (i.e. the Sun) in the heaven.’

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This is a compound Upamā, with *gaviṣṭhiraś aśrei* as the common term. Gaviṣṭhira must in this case be identified with that Atri, who is said to have fixed the Sun once more in the heaven when the latter was attacked by Svarbhānu (Rv. V. 40. 8). It is, however, more probable that this is conceived as a triple Upamā, with the third Upamāna *Mitrāvaruṇā* or *Indrāgni* (see No. 44 below) corresponding to Gaviṣṭhira being dropped. Cf. VII. 63. 4; 87.5 and also V. 40. 7; VI. 51. 1.

(5) सुमयूथं न पुरु शोभमानम् ॥

V. 2. 4b.

‘(I saw Agni), shining beautifully like the herd of cows.’

Agni is here compared with the herd of cows in point of lovely appearance. The Dawns are so compared at Rv. IV. 52. 5, and the Maruts at V. 56. 5. Also compare III. 33. 1c.

(6) शुनश्चिच्छेपुं निर्दितं सुहस्रायूपादमुञ्चो ; अशमिष्ट हि षः ।

एवास्मदग्ने वि सुमुग्धि पाशान् ॥

V. 2. 7abc.

‘You released Śunaśśepa, who was bound down, from the thousand-fold (strong) pillar; he indeed toiled for you. Thus oh Agni, do release the snares from us.’

This is a Vākyopamā. Like the simile at IV. 12. 6, this too is irregularly expressed owing to the two-fold use of $\sqrt{muc}$; cf. Similes of the Vāmadevas, No. 146. For the sake of symmetry, we should have *asmān* and *pāśāt* (cf. VI. 74. 4c; X. 85. 24d), but actually we get *asmat* and *pāśān* as at I. 24. 13; 15; 25. 11; VII. 88. 7.

(7) एतं ते स्तोमं तुविजातु विप्रो रथं न धीरः स्वपा अतक्षम् ॥

V. 2. 11ab.

‘I, a poet, have fashioned this hymn as a skilful artist prepares his chariot, oh strong-born one!’

For the same simile with the same Upamāna, cf. I. 130. 6 and V. 29. 15 (No. 47 below); *dhīraḥ* and *svapāḥ* are adjectives of the Upamāna alone. Also see V. 73. 10.

(8) अञ्जन्ति मित्रं सुधितं न गोभिः ।

V. 3. 2c.

‘With cows (i.e. streams of cow’s ghee), they anoint him, who resembles a well-established or (a confirmed) friend.’

-*sudhitam mitram* is a qualified Upamāna. As a rule *na* should stand between the two words; cf. Similes of the Vāmadevas, No. 51. But in our passage, the metre is against this position. Even here as at IV. 6. 7, *kṣemakaram* has to be supplied as the common term. For *mitram* $\sqrt{dhā}$, cf. I. 73. 3 (*hitamitro rājā*); 20. 9 (*mitradhiti*); II. 4. 3 (*agnim mitram dhuk*); IV. 33. 10 (*dhattam mitram*); X. 7. 5 (*hitam mitramiva*); 100. 4 (*mitradhitāni*); 108. 3 (*mitram enam dadhāma*) and 132. 5 (*hite mitre*).

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(9) विश्वानि नो सिन्धुं न नावा दुरितानि पर्वि ।

V. 4. 9ab.

‘(With your favour) you carry us beyond all dangers as beyond a river with a boat.’

The simile is a compound one, though the subsidiary Upameya *avasā* is always dropped in it, in the *R̥gveda*. Of the two Upamānas *sindhūm* and *nāvā*, the former is dropped at I. 97. 7; II. 39. 4; 4. V. 25. 9 (No. 43 below), while the latter is dropped at VIII. 97. 15. Both of them are mentioned at I. 97. 8; VIII. 83. 3; IX. 70. 10 and in our passage. $\sqrt{par}$, with or without *ati*, governs two accusatives, that of person and that of the object.

(10) अग्ने अत्रिवज्रमसा गृणानः ।

V. 4. 9c.

‘Being praised with a hymn of mine, as of Atri.’

(11) असीमह स्वर्जेन्यं भूमां पृष्ठेव रुरुहुः ।

V. 7. 5cd.

‘The creatures [bhūma] mount upon him (Agni), who is self-conquerable, as on the backs (of the tame animals).’

-*bhūma* is the subject of *ruruhuḥ*, and *prsthā*, though plural, is the Upamāna for *im* (Agnim). ‘Mounting’ upon Agni metaphorically means ‘to make full and free use of him as of a trained horse’. For *bhūma* connected with Agni, cf. I. 70. 6 and II. 4. 2. The relation between $\sqrt{ruh}$ and *prsthā* shows how the latter cannot be construed as the subject of the former. Cf. V. 36. 2b with IX. 36. 6ab and also see IV. 2. 11; IX. 14. 7; 102. 3; X. 89. 3, where *prsthā* is used in the plural to convey the sense of the backs of tame animals, particularly of horses. -*svajenyam* suggests that Agni ordinarily cannot be tamed by others; but by the devotion of a man, he tames himself and then alone can all creatures approach him with ease and confidence, as they do the tame animals.

(12) स हि ष्मा धन्वाक्षितुं दाता न दात्या पशुः ।

V. 7. 7ab.

‘Like a grazing beast, he, (i.e. Agni), indeed, grazes off the plains covered with grass [ākṣitam].’

-*dātā paśuḥ* is a qualified Upamāna; *ā dātā*, which is the common term, finds itself between the two terms which constitute it. Agni is himself called a *paśu* at V. 75. 9. At I. 65. 8, the grass is said to be the hair of the earth and Agni is described as shaving it off (*agnir ha dāti romā prthivyāḥ*).

(13-14) शुचिः ष्म यस्मा अत्रिवत्प्र स्वर्धितिव रीयते ।

सुषूरसूत माता ... ।

V. 7. 8abc.

‘The mother produced Agni (for the sake of him), for whom, as for Atri, he the bright one, i.e. Agni, goes forth like a hatchet.’

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Rgvedic Similes

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-*yasmai* refers to the Yajamāna as the Upamāna 'Atri' makes clear. For the simile, cf. V. 48. 4 (*tām asya rītim paraśor iva*) and VII. 3. 9 (*nir yat pūteva svadhitiś śucir gāt*). *svadhiti* is a double Sandhi of *svadhiti* and *iva*.

(15) उत स्म यं षिशुं यथा नवं जनिष्टारणी ।

V. 9. 3ab.

'And whom the fresh one, the Araṇi brought forth like a child.'

-*navam* refers to Agni as in most passages; but it may also refer to *śiśum* as at IX. 86. 36.

(16-17) उत स्म दुग्धीयसे पुत्रो न ह्वार्याणाम् ।

पुरु यो दग्धासि वनाग्ने पशुर्न यवसे ॥

V. 9. 4.

'Like the son of the crooked ones, you, who burn down many trees, (behaving) like a beast in a preserved meadow, are indeed very difficult to grasp.'

At VI. 2. 9, Agni is again compared with a 'young *hvārya* horse'; so that here *hvāryā* is evidently a 'mare'. In the second simile, *paśu* is the wild beast, a *mṛga*, who devours every thing in the meadow and leaves nothing behind it and hence is always unwelcome; cf. I. 38. 5 (*mā vo mṛgo na yavase jaritā bhūd ajosyah*). The common term which has to be supplied is not however, *ajosyah*, but *aviśyan* 'greedily devouring' as is clear from I. 58. 2 (*trṣu aviśyan ataseṣu tiṣṭhati*) compared with VII. 3. 2 (*aśvo na yavase aviśyan*).

(18-19) यदीमहं त्रितो दिव्युपध्मातेव धमति शिशीते ध्मातरी यथा ॥

V. 9. 5cd.

'When Trita in heaven blows him up like a blowing smith and sharpens him as it were [yathā] for invigoration [dhmātari].'

The subject of *śiśite* is Trita, its object is Agni. Cf. VIII. 23. 13 (*śitah agnih*) and X. 87. 1 (*agnis śiśāno*). -*dhmātari* is the locative of *dhmātṛ* (used as a noun of action = *dhmānam*), having the sense of a dative or an infinitive; thus *dhmātari* means *dhmānāya*, i.e. for invigoration. -*yathā* here expresses a Saṁbhāvana and seems to have been used because *iva* is metrically impossible. At II. 24. 7, Agni is said to be *dhāmīta* with hands. For *dhmātari* and its interpretation, see below No. 67.

(20) द्वेषोयुतो न दुरिता तुर्याम मल्यौनाम् ॥

V. 9. 6cd.

'May we overcome dangers from men, like the overthrowers of foes.'

Sāyana takes *dveṣoyutaḥ* to mean 'enemies'; but this is probably not right. Agni is called *dveṣoyut* at IV. 11. 5 and besides, expressions like *yavaya dveṣo* (VI. 46. 12; VII. 77. 4) and also the passages where *dveṣas* and $\sqrt{yu}$ occur together (VII. 18. 5; 71. 15; 79. 4, etc.) show that in *dveṣoyut*, we have $\sqrt{yu}$ to separate and not $\sqrt{yu}$ to join. At I. 53. 4, the priests are said to be *yutadveṣasaḥ* through Indra. -*martyānām duriṭā* (kartari ṣaṣṭhi) is rather

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unusual. Yet at I. 128. 5, Agni is said to protect from *durita*, *abhihrut* and *agha śamsa*, of course, of men!

(21) ले असुर्यमाहृक्काणा मित्रो न यज्ञियः ॥

V. 10. 2cd.

‘Divine power has mounted upon you; being an active worker, you deserve a sacrifice like Mitra.’

-*krāṇā* is a queer form; it evidently stands for *cakrāṇaḥ*. But in the nominative singular, the word is treated as if it were *krāṇan*, while in the other cases it is declined like *rāma*. -*yajñiyah* is the common term. At IX. 77. 5, Soma is identified with *mitro yajñiyah*.

(22-23) तव ले अग्ने अर्चयो भ्राजन्तो यन्ति धृष्णुया ।

परिज्मानो न विद्युतः स्वानो रथो न वज्रयुः ॥

V. 10. 5.

‘Those flames of thine, oh Agni, go forth shining boldly like the wandering lightnings and like a thundering chariot seeking loot.’

The common term for both the similes is *dhṛṣṇuyā yanti*. Both the Upamānas are qualified. Both *svāno* and *vājayuh* appear to be adjectives of *ratha* in our passage. At IX. 10. 1, *svānāsah rathāḥ* are used as Upamāna for the flowing juices of Soma. Similarly, a *vājayu* or *vājayan ratha* is used as an Upamāna also at I. 130. 5; VIII. 3. 15; IX. 67. 17. Also see below No. 127.

It is, however, possible that we have two distinct similes here; in the second, *svāna* is the Upameya. See below No. 42.

(24) त्वां गिरः सिन्धुमिवावनीर्महीराष्ट्रंणन्ति शर्वसा वर्धयन्ति च ।

V. 11. 5cd.

‘The hymns fill you up, (i.e. strengthen you), as do the great rivers the ocean and refresh you with power.’

The same compound simile occurs again at I. 83. 1; 190. 7; X. 43. 7; 111. 10. Also see III. 36. 6 and V. 85. 6. *ā prṇanti* is the common term.

(25) घृतं न यज्ञ आस्ये ३ सुपृतं गिरं भरे वृषभाय प्रतीचीम् ।

V. 12. 1cd.

‘I offer this greeting hymn to the mighty Bull, as I offer well-cleansed ghee in his mouth, at the sacrifice.’

A hymn is often compared with purified ghee; cf. III. 2. 1; IV. 10. 6; V. 86. 6; VIII. 12. 4, etc. The two often go together and here *na* has the sense of *ca*. In our passage *supūtam ghṛtam* is a qualified Upamāna, though at IV. 57. 2 *supūtam* is used as the common term for the same Upamāna and at IX. 67. 12, Soma is said to be *ghṛtam na pavate*. Also see below No. 172.



(26) अग्ने नेमिरा ईव देवास्त्वं परिभूरसि ।

V. 13. 6ab.

‘Agni, you surround the gods (to protect them), as the felly of the wheel surrounds its spokes.’

For the same simile, cf. I. 32. 15; 141. 9; II. 5. 3.

(27) स संवतो नवजातस्तुर्यात्सिंहं न क्रुद्धमुमितः परि षुः ॥

V. 15. 3cd.

‘May he, the new-born (Agni), overcome the (dangers) which hold themselves together [samvataḥ]. They stood around him (to oppose) as around an angry lion.’

-*samvat* (fem.) is formed like *udvat* and *nivat* and means ‘dangers which hold themselves closely together’; cf. I. 191. 15; VIII. 75. 15. It is to be construed as the subject of *pari sthuh*; $\sqrt{sthā}$ with *pari* always means ‘to surround, to oppose or obstruct’; cf. I. 32. 8; 167. 9; II. 11. 2, etc. Agni is compared with a lion even at III. 2. 11 and 9. 4. In our passage, the adjective *kruddham* suggests that the opposing Dangers are sure to be overpowered.

(28) मातेव यद्भरसे पप्रथानः ।

V. 15. 4a.

‘Since you, spreading yourself everywhere, support men like a mother.’

Bharase is the common property; cf. VI. 75. 4 (*māteva putram bibhrtam*). At VI. 1. 5, Agni is called the *mātā* and *pitā* of men.

(29) वाजो नु ते शर्वसस्पाखन्तमुहं दोषं ध्रुणं देव रायः ।

पदं न तायुर्गुहा दधानो मुहो राये चितयन्नत्रिमस्यः ॥

V. 15. 5.

‘May the sacrificial food keep up the farthest limit of your strength which milks out wealth and is a vast container of it. Keeping (it) concealed as a thief does his track, you saved Atri mightily, making him wise for the sake of wealth.’

In c, I supply *śavasaḥ antam* from a. Agni tries to conceal his great powers, but after all they are revealed like the track of a thief. Wise men find him out as they find out a hiding thief by his foot-prints; cf. I. 65. 1 (*paśvā na tāyum guhā catantam dhīrāḥ padair anu gman*) and X. 46. 2. In the case of Indra and the Maruts, their *śavasaḥ anta* is said to be beyond the reach of men or gods, friends or foes; cf. I. 100. 15; 167. 9; VII. 21. 6 and X. 54. 3. The simile is a compound one; *guhā dadhāno* is the common term. Cf. VII. 86. 7 for d. -*maho rāye*: *mahas* is adverbially used.

(30) यं मित्रं न प्रशस्तिभिर्मतौसो दधिरे पुरः ।

V. 16. 1cd.

‘Whom the mortals make their leader with their hymns, like a friend.’



Agni is compared with a friend also at I. 58. 6; II. 4. 1; VIII. 74. 2. So is Viṣṇu at I. 156. 1, Brhaspati at I. 190. 6 and Soma at I. 91. 3. In the last two passages, *pariprīta* and *priya* are respectively used as adjectives of *mitra*.

(31) वि हव्यमभिरानुषभगो न वारमृण्वति ।

V. 16. 2cd.

‘Agni continuously discloses (and sends) the offerings (to gods) and like Bhaga, he discloses wealth (to men).’

We have to supply *ṛṇvati* in the first half, or perhaps *ohiṣe*, in view of I. 128. 6 (*viśvasmā id iśudhyate devatrā havyam ohiṣe/viśvasmā it sukrte vāram ṛṇvati*); also cf. I. 58. 3. The common term is *vāram vi ṛṇvati*.

(32) तमिद्युहं न रोदसी परि श्रवो बभूवतुः ॥

V. 16. 4cd.

‘Him alone, the famous one [śravo], do Heaven and Earth surround (for service), as they do the active one (i.e. the Sun).’

Here *pari √bhū* seems to be used in the sense of surrounding for service, etc., as at I. 1. 4; 10. 12; 32. 15; 97. 6; 141. 9; II. 5. 3; VI. 67. 5; X. 91. 8, etc. In other context, it means ‘to surround for overpowering’ as at I. 69. 2; II. 16. 3; IV. 33. 1; X. 27. 7, etc. This latter meaning does not seem to be intended in our passage, in spite of the close resemblance between it and II. 16. 3 and X. 27. 7. For, the relation between the Rodasī and Indra is quite different from that between the Rodasī and Agni. Time and again, Rodasī and Indra are contrasted in point of greatness, and Indra is always said to be superior to them. But no such idea is ever expressed in the case of Agni, whose relations with the Rodasī are very cordial. He is the Arati of the Rodasī (I. 59. 2) and also their reliable priest (IV. 3. 1), their Garbha (X. 1. 2) and their Abhiśri (VIII. 72. 13).

The real difficulty is however, as to who the *yahva* is. Very generally the attribute is used of Agni and only once of Indra (VIII. 13. 24) and once of Soma (IX. 75. 1). In our passage it may be Soma, or the Sun as I have suggested. On the other hand, if *na* is taken as negative, and *pari √bhū* in the sense of ‘surrounding to oppose’, we may translate as follows:— ‘Him alone, the active and famous one, Heaven and Earth do not surround and overpower’. This is however, not very satisfactory in view of what is said above.

(33) द्विवो न यस्य रेतसा बृहच्छोचन्त्युर्चयः ॥

V. 17. 3cd.

‘Whose flames, like those of Heaven, shine brightly by means of the seed, i.e. ghee or Soma.’

Here obviously *retas* is used in its double sense, namely ‘rain water’ and ‘ghee or Soma’. The flames of Heaven are the lightnings. *-retas* is often used in the sense of ‘rain water’; cf. I. 71. 8; 100. 3; III. 31. 10; V. 83. 4; VI. 70. 2; VIII. 44. 16; IX. 74. 1, etc.

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(34) आ श्वेत्रेयस्य जन्तवो बुमद्वर्धन्त कृष्टयः ।

निष्कम्पीवो बृहदुक्थ एना मध्वा न वाजयुः ॥

V. 19. 3.

‘The creatures, the people of Śvaitreya, have grown gloriously powerful, as has this Bṛhaduktha, who is eager for loot and has a gold necklace on his neck, with the help of this Soma offering (to Agni).’

Śvaitreya is evidently the name of the poet’s patron; it again occurs at I. 33. 14. The poet means to say that his patron’s people also have been benefitted by his sacrifice and in this respect he compares them with himself, who got the reward of a gold necklace from him. -*vardhanta* is the common term. Bṛhaduktha is the name of the poet himself.

(35-36) प्रियं दुग्धं न काम्यमजमि जाम्योः सचा ।

धर्मो न वाजजठरोदब्धः शश्वतो दभः ॥

V. 19. 4.

‘The unrelated (face of Agni) appearing in the company of the two related ones, is fit to be desired, like this dear milk offering. He, i.e. Agni is the undeceived deceiver of many and has the *vāja* in his belly like this cauldron.’

In *ab*, supply *anīkam*; -*jāmyoḥ* refers to either Heaven and Earth or Night and Dawn. Agni’s *anīka* is *cāru* (IV. 5. 15) and *bhadra* (IV. 11. 1) and also *saparya* and *yajata* (X. 7. 3). Agni’s connection with Heaven and Earth is well known; for the same with Night and Dawn, cf. IV. 12. 2. A contrast between *jāmi* and *ajāmi* is surely intended; but it is not clear why Agni’s face or lustre is called *ajāmi*. Perhaps it is so called because it is unconnected with either Heaven or Earth though it appears between them.

In the second simile, Agni is called *vājajathara* (containing the rewards or *vājas* for men in his inside) and is compared in this respect with the cauldron containing the *vāja*, i.e. the milk offering, which is placed on the fire; -*vāja* is evidently double-meaning.

(37) ता अस्य सन्धृषजो न तिग्माः सुसंक्षिता वृक्ष्यो वक्षणेस्थाः ॥

V. 19. 5cd.

‘May those well sharpened flames [*vakṣyaḥ*] of his, resting on his chest [*vakṣaṇesthāḥ*], be harsh or severe like bold warriors.’

Agni himself is compared with a bold and brave warrior at X. 69. 5-6. On the other hand, such warriors are compared with Fire at X. 84. 1. -*tigmāḥ* is the common term.

(38) मनुष्वत्त्वा निर्धीमहि मनुष्वत्समिधीमहि ।

अग्ने मनुष्वदङ्गिरो देवान्देवयते यज ॥

V. 21. 1.

‘Like Manu we establish you; like Manu we kindle you. Worship the gods, oh Agni, for this devoted (sacrificer), as you did for Manu.’

In the second half, *vat* has the sense of ‘a dative and *iva*’.

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(39) प्र विश्वसामन्नत्रिवदर्चा पावकशौचिषे ॥

V. 22. 1ab.

‘Sing to Agni of purifying flames, like Atri, oh Viśvasāman!

(40) महिषीव लघ्विस्त्रिद्वारा उदीरते ।

V. 25. 7cd.

‘From you goes forth wealth, which is (powerful) like a she-buffalo; from you go forth the foods.’

The common property is not mentioned. We have probably to supply *isirā* from V. 37 3.

(41-42) तव वुमन्तो अर्च्यो प्रावेवोच्यते बृहत् ।

उतो ते तन्युतुर्थथा स्वानो अर्तु त्मना दिवः ॥

V. 25. 8.

‘Your flames are bright; he (i.e. Agni) roars mightily like the Press-stone. And then, your roar has risen up like the thunder of Heaven itself.’

I construe *b* separately and supply *Agnih* as the Upamāna in it. -*grāvā* is of course the *madhusut grāvā*; cf. X. 64. 15; 100. 8c. The second half of the stanza is an elaboration of *b*. The enkindled fire produces a sound, which is first compared with that of a Press-stone and then with the thunder of the heaven itself. For the second simile, cf. IV. 10. 4 and VII. 3. 6.

(43) स नो विश्वा अति द्विषः पर्षन्नावेव सुक्रतुः ॥

V. 25. 9cd.

‘May he carry us safely through all hateful calamities as (through waters) in a boat.’

This is a partially expressed simile, which is a compound one. The subsidiary Upameya *avasā* and the principal Upamāna *sindhū* are both dropped. See above No. 9.

(44-45) यस्य मा पशुषाः शतमुद्धर्षयन्त्युक्षणः ।

अश्वमेधस्य दानाः सोमा इव त्र्याशिरः ॥

इन्द्रामी शतुदान्यश्वमेधे सुवीर्यम् ।

क्षत्रं धारयतं बृहद्वि सूर्यमिवाजरम् ॥

V. 27. 5; 6.

‘Bestow, oh Indra and Agni, physical power and dominion upon Aśvamedha, as you bestow the ageless Sun upon the heaven—Aśvamedha, who is the giver of a hundred (bulls) and whose gifts, namely, the hundred sturdy bulls, give me great pleasure, as do these Soma Juices that are mixed threefold.’

Agni and Indra are said to have sent up the ageless star, i.e. the Sun in the heaven; cf. I. 52. 8; VIII. 12. 30; X. 156. 4. They also bestow *ksatra*



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upon men; cf. I. 54. 11; V. 34. 9; VI. 8. 6; also I. 160. 5; V. 64. 6 and VII. 18. 25, etc.

(46) कारं न विश्वे अहन्त देवा भस्मिन्द्राय यदहिं जुघानं ॥

V. 29. 8cd.

‘All the gods sang a loot-song like a war-hymn to Indra, when he killed Ahi.’

Here a *bhara* is compared with a *kāra*. But both seem to be Prakṛta and consequently *na* has the sense of ‘conjunction’. Between the two, namely, *bhara* and *kāra*, the latter seems to imply ‘anxiety’ and the former ‘self-confidence’. *-kāra* was perhaps sung on the occasion of a great battle, when the fate of the parties hung in suspense; while *bhara* was sung in a jovial spirit, when the singer was almost certain of the success of his party. Hence I have called it a loot-song. For further discussion, see my note on IV. 29. 8 (BUJ. 1939, Sept.). On the whole it would seem that the tone of a *kāra* was supplicating and plaintive and that of a *bhara* was jubilant and self-confident.

(47-48) इन्द्र ब्रह्म क्रियमाणा जुषस्व या ते शविष्ठ नव्या अकर्म ।

वज्रैव भद्रा सुकृता वसू रथं न धीरः स्वपा अतक्षम् ॥

V. 29. 15.

‘Accept the hymns, which are being prepared and which we, the newly rising poets have composed, oh most powerful Indra. Longing for wealth, I have fashioned them, which are well arranged like lovely garments, as a wise artist prepares his chariot.’

We have two similes here; in the first, the hymns are compared with lovely clothes in point of shape and arrangement, while in the second, the poet compares himself with a carpenter in point of skilfulness and art. The second is a compound simile, where incidentally, the hymns are compared with a chariot. See above No. 7.

Supply *vayam* after *navyāḥ*. The first simile also occurs at I. 140. 1 and X. 106. 1. *-bhadra vastrā* is a qualified Upamāna; the two words go together. Cf. I. 134. 4; III. 39. 2 and IX. 97. 2. A hymn is said to have put on *bhadra vastrā* at III. 39. 2.

(49) प्र चक्रियेव रोदसी मरुतः ॥

V. 30. 8d.

‘(At that time, i.e. when Indra killed Namuci), the two worlds served as the two wheels (of a chariot) to the Maruts!’

The idea is that the Maruts ran to the help of their Master Indra, very quickly as if on a chariot, whose wheels were Heaven and Earth. The *rodasī* are again compared with the two wheels of a chariot at X. 89. 4. Day and Night are also similarly compared at I. 185. 1. To complete the sense we must supply *āstām* (X. 85. 11) or better *bhūtam* after *pra* (VI. 68. 4d). *-vartamāne* (cf. *vṛttam na cakram*) seems to be the common property, which is intended to be understood.

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(50) अत्यो न वाजी रघुरज्यमानो बभ्रुश्चत्वार्यसनत्सहस्रा ॥

V. 30. 15cd.

‘Like a swift and powerful horse, when urged (by his master), Babhru has won four thousand (cows).’

-*atyo vāji* is a qualified Upamāna. It probably means a race-horse, perhaps a chariot-racer, in view of the adjective *sudhuro* which we get for it at III. 38. 1, where also the poet compares himself with it. The qualified Upamāna occurs often: cf. I. 64. 6; 129. 2; 135. 5; IX. 93. 1; 96. 15, etc.; also cf. *vāji na kṛtvyaḥ* at VI. 2. 8 and *atyo na sṛtvā* at IX. 96. 20. ‘Swift movement’ is the common property, expressed in our passage by *ajyamānaḥ*.

(51) यूथेव पश्वो व्युनोति गोपा अरिष्टो याति प्रथमः सिर्षासन् ।

V. 31. 1cd.

‘Indra protects (it, i.e. the worshipper’s chariot), as a cowboy protects his herds of cattle; uninjured, it goes forth first, seeking loot.’

I supply *ratham*, as the object of *vi unoti*, from the first line. The simile is a compound one and *paśvo yuthā* are to be construed together as is clear from VI. 19. 3. This latter passage also shows how *gopā* belongs to the simile in our stanza and does not refer to Indra. In *d*, the same *ratha* is to be understood as the subject of *yāti*; cf. V. 18. 3 and 35. 7. But perhaps even the worshipper himself may have been meant; cf. I. 41. 2; II. 27. 12; VIII. 27. 16 and X. 63. 13. In any case it does not refer to Indra (Sāyana) or to the Gopā (Grassmann, WB., p. 106).

(52) इन्द्राय गतुरुशतीव येमे ।

V. 32. 10b.

‘The broad path, i.e. the Earth yielded herself to him like a passionate wife (yielding to her lover).’

The word *gātu* is fem. here and at I. 136. 2 and X. 61. 25. It means the Earth. The simile is a compound one and the subsidiary Upamāna *patye* corresponding to *indrāya* has to be supplied. Similarly *uśatī* is the *uśatī jāyā*, or *patnī*; cf. I. 62. 11; 71. 1; 124. 7; IV. 3. 2; X. 71. 4; 91. 13, etc.

(53) आस्मार्ज्जगम्यादहिशुष्म सत्वा भगो न हव्यः प्रभृथेषु चारुः ।

V. 33. 5cd.

‘Oh Indra possessed of Ahi’s strength, may a warrior, who is fit to be invoked like Bhaga and is amiable at sacrifices, come to us.’

The *satvā* either refers to a son or to Indra; see my note on the stanza at BUJ., Sept. 1939, p. 17. Grassmann’s suggestion to take *ahisūṣmasatvā* as one word is farfetched, though incidentally, it solves a difficulty. Indra killed Ahi; it would therefore be derogatory to call him a mere *ahisūṣma*. On the other hand, the Maruts are elsewhere called *ahibhānavaḥ* (I. 64. 8) and *ahimanyavaḥ* (I. 172. 1) and so the adjective *ahisūṣmasatvā* used of Indra would only repeat the idea. Indra is also called *abhisatvā* at X. 103. 5. Yet the change of accent, which Grassmann’s suggestion involves, is rather difficult to explain.



(54) सहस्रा मे च्यवतानो ददान आनूकमर्यो वपुषे नार्चत् ॥

V. 33. 9cd.

‘Noble Cyavatāna, who gave me a thousand (horses), has sung an ever-following (song of praise) for glory as it were!’

I take *ānūkam* as equal to *anūkam*. The word is to be compared with *pratikam* and *abhikam* (from *prati* and *abhi* respectively). The poet fancies that in giving this noble gift, his patron Cyavatāna has as it were composed a hymn of praise for himself to follow him wherever he goes, even after death. -*vapuṣe na* is an *Utprekṣā* like *śubhe na* at I. 127. 6.

(55) म॒हा रा॒यः सं॒वर्ण॑स्य ऋ॒षेर्व्र॑जं न गावः प्रय॑ता अपि॒ रमन् ॥

V. 33. 10cd.

‘They (i.e. the horses) have gone to (the house of) the sage Saṁvarāṇa, as cows go to their stall, being given (by the prince) owing to the greatness of his wealth.’

In c I supply *astam* after *rṣeḥ* and take *prayatāḥ* as referring to *asvāḥ*. See my note on the passage at BUJ., Sept. 1939, pp. 18-19, for the meaning of *mahnā rāyaḥ*. The simile is a compound one and the subsidiary *Upameya astam* corresponding to *vrajam* is dropped in it. It is, however, readily suggested by the usual form of the simile, i.e. *astam na gāvāḥ*; cf. I. 66. 9; IV. 34. 5; V. 6. 1; IX. 66. 12, etc.

(56) ध॒न्व॒च॒रो न वंस॑गस्तृ॒षाणश्च॑क॒मानः पि॑बतु दु॒ग्धमं॑शुम् ॥

V. 36. 1cd.

‘Longing for it, may he drink the milked out stalk of Soma, like a thirsty bull roaming about on the plains!’

-*dhanvacaro vamsagaḥ* is a qualified *Upamāna*. Indra is often compared with a thirsty bull; cf. I. 16. 5; 130. 2; VII. 98. 1; VIII. 4. 3; 10. 33. 2, etc. -*vamsaga* signifies ‘a leader of the herd’ and Indra is compared with a *vamsaga vṛṣā* at I. 7. 8.

(57) आ ते ह॒नू हरि॑वः शूर॒ क्षि॑प्रे रु॒ह॒त्सोमो॑ न पर्व॑तस्य पृ॒ष्ठे ।

V. 36. 2ab.

‘Oh brave lord of the bay steeds! may that milked out juice mount upon your chin and lips like the Soma plant (mounting upon) the back of the mountain.’

I supply *dugdhah amśuḥ* as the *Upameya* in the simile from the last stanza. See my note on the stanza at BUJ., Sept. 1939, p. 22. -*ā + √ruh* governs the locative also; cf. VII. 83. 3 and VIII. 22. 9.

(58) अनु॑ त्वा राज॒ज्व॑र्व॒तो न हि॒न्वन्गी॑र्भिर्म॒देम॑ पुरु॒ह॒तु वि॒श्वे ।

V. 36. 2cd.

‘May we all cheer you up with our hymns, oh King Puruhūta, like one who urges his horses with encouraging words!’

This is a compound simile where the poet compares himself with a driver, who cheers his horses with encouraging words. The deity is, of course,



compared with the horses. The idea of urging the horses with songs is often met with, particularly in similes; cf. I. 138. 2; III. 2. 3; IV. 3. 12; 10. 1; VIII. 103. 7, etc. -*anu* √*mā* means 'to cheer up' and is used with the instrumental of 'the means of cheering' as for example at I. 102. 1 and 173. 7.

(59) चक्रं न वृत्तं पुरुहूत वेपते मनो भिया मे अमतेरिदद्विवः ।

V. 36. 3ab.

'My heart indeed trembles through fear of ignorance like a rolling wheel, oh oft-invited wielder of the Bolt!'

-*vepate* expresses the common property, i.e. shakiness or unsteadiness, which, in the case of the wheel, is its movement to the left and to the right on the axle. -*vrttam cakram* is a qualified Upamāna and occurs again at I. 155. 6 and IV. 31. 4.

(60) एष प्रावेव जरिता त इन्द्रेयति वाचम् ...

V. 36. 4ab.

'Like this Press-stone, this singer of yours sends up his hymn to you, oh Indra!'

The Press-stone is often described as singing praise to the deity; cf. I. 83. 6; 84. 3; 118. 3; 135. 7; 139. 10; III. 58. 3; IV. 3. 3; V. 25. 8; 31. 5; 12; 37. 2; VI. 51. 14; 104. 17; VIII. 34. 2; 42. 4; X. 36. 4; 64. 15; 76. 6; 78. 6; 94. 2; 100. 8, etc.

(61) अक्षेत्रविद्यथा मुग्धो भुवनाच्यरीधयुः ।

V. 40. 5cd.

'All creatures looked thoughtful like one who is bewildered and does not know where he is.'

The Upamāna is *akṣetramid*, for which word, cf. X. 32. 7. Its qualifying attribute is *mugdho*; -*adīdhayuh* is the common term. At X. 25. 8 Soma is called *manuṣaḥ kṣetravittaraḥ*.

(62) यज्ञायते वा पशुषो न वाजान् ।

V. 41. 1d.

'And give the sacrificer rich rewards (of your own), like those of our cattle-giving patron.'

The stanza is very difficult. -*paśuṣaḥ* is either gen. sing. or accu. plural. The former is preferred as the latter is rather improbable; -*paśuṣo vājān* is indeed not quite impossible ('cattle-giving rewards'), but so far as I can see, it cannot be supported by other Rgvedic passages. The genitive *paśuṣaḥ* may refer in particular to the poet's patron Ūrjavya (v. 19) and Mitra and Varuna are requested by the poet to give him rewards like this patron. We might compare I. 127. 10, where Agni is compared with a *paśuṣā* or the cattle-giving patron. For *paśuṣā*, Geldner compares (Trans., p. 161, note) V. 61. 5. We may also compare IV. 32. 22 (*goṣaṇo napāt*) as also V. 30. 15 (*gavyasya paśvaḥ pratyagrabhīṣma*) and VIII. 34. 16 (*ādadvake aśvyam paśum*).



(63) उत वा दिवो असुराय मन्म प्रान्धांसीव यज्यवे भरध्वम् ।

V. 41. 3cd.

‘And bring your hymns to the holy and mighty lord of the heaven, (oh priest), like your intoxicating juices.’

The hymns and the Soma juices are often mentioned together and here *iva* has the force of a conjunctive particle.

(64) पुषा भगः प्रभृये विश्वभोजा आजि न जग्मुराश्वतमाः ।

V. 41. 4cd.

‘Puṣā and Bhaga who feeds all, have gone to the sacrifice, as those who have swiftest horses go to a horse-race.’

The simile is a compound one and there is no agreement between the subsidiary Upamāna and Upameya, i.e. *-āji* and *prabhṛtha*, in point of the case. *-āśvaśvatamāh* belongs to the simile and is not an attribute of the Viśvedevāh as Sāyana understands. Cf. in particular VI. 24. 6d and IV. 5. 13b. See also Similes of the Vāmadevas, No. 38. *-āśvaśvyam* ‘possession of swift horses’ is often besought by the human worshippers; cf. V. 6. 10; VIII. 6. 24; 31. 8, etc.

(65) उषानक्तो विदुषीव विश्वमा हा वहतो मर्याय यज्ञम् ।

V. 41. 7cd.

‘The Night and the Dawn bring themselves to the sacrifice for the sake of the mortal, like two women, who know everything.’

-ā √vāh in such passages is perhaps to be taken as an intransitive verb, meaning ‘to drive to’. *-viśvam* is to be construed as the object of *viduṣi*. Uṣā is similarly compared with a well-informed woman at I. 124. 3 and V. 80. 4.

(66) तुजे नस्तने पर्वताः सन्तु स्वैतवो ये वसवो न वीराः ।

V. 41. 9ab.

‘May the Parvatas, who move about as they like, be for our advancement and offspring, like the kind-hearted heroes.’

-vasavo vīrāh is a qualified Upamāna. At VIII. 40. 9, a *vasu vīra* is mentioned and he is probably ‘the kind patron’ of the poet. Here perhaps the same meaning is intended and Parvatas are requested to grant the poet’s desires like his patrons. In this case, *tuje tane santu* would be the common term. But it is more likely, that *svaitavo* was conceived by the poet as the point of resemblance as is seen from the position of *ye*; *vasavo vīrāh* in that case would rather be the Maruts, who are compared with *dhunayo vīrāh* at VI. 66. 10 and with *pājasvanto vīrāh* at X. 77. 3. Agni at I. 73. 3 and Indra at III. 55. 21, are also compared with *śarmasado vīrāh*. *-sva-etavo*: ‘moving according to inclination’; the Maruts are also called *svasṛtāh* at I. 64. 11 and I. 87. 4.

(67) गृणीते अमिरेतरी न शूषैः ।

V. 41. 10c.

‘Agni is praised with hymns, as if for leadership (etari na).’



Here as at I. 79. 12, *grñte* is passive and *śūṣaiḥ* is *karaṇārthe trītyā*. Cf. for the latter, VI. 68. 3 (*tā grñthi namasyebhiḥ śūṣaiḥ*). That this construction is correct is borne out by the parallel passage VI. 12. 4, where the same simile or rather *Utprekṣā* is employed.

I construe *etari na* as an *Utprekṣā*. Like *dhmātari* in No. 19 above, I take *etari* as a locative of *etr* (a noun of action, meaning 'going, leading', etc.), having the sense of a dative or the infinitive. Thus *etari* means 'for going forward, for leadership', i.e. *puraetave*. Agni is often requested to be men's *puraetā*; I. 76. 2; III. 11. 5; V. 46. 1, etc. Forms similar to *etari* and *dhmātari* and which, I think, are to be similarly interpreted are *dhartari* at II. 23. 17; IX. 86. 42; *vidhartari* at VIII. 70. 2; IX. 47. 4; *kartari* at I. 139. 7; *netari* at II. 5. 2; *vaktari* at X. 61. 12; and *sotari* at X. 100. 9. Of these *dhmātari* and *etari* are written with a long *ī* in the *Saṁhitā* for metrical reasons. They are surely not to be treated as nominatives on that account.

(68) शृण्वन्त्वापः पुरो न शुभ्राः ।

V. 41. 12c.

'May the lovely Waters, which are (unassailable) like iron forts, listen to us.'

-śubhrāḥ goes with the *Upameya* only and does not express the common property; because in the *Rgveda*, the *Upamāna* for *śubhratva* is either a Cow (III. 33. 1), or a *Marya* (IX. 96. 20), or a *Yuvā* (IX. 14. 5) or a *Śīśu* (VII. 56. 16), or even a *Yūtha* of cattle (V. 2. 4), but not a *pūr*. Hence a common term like *adhṛṣṭāḥ* (X. 101. 8) has to be supplied. Cf. also VII. 3. 8 (*yā vā te santi dāsuse adhṛṣṭāḥ*, i.e. *purāḥ*) and VII. 15. 14.

(69) प्रति मे स्तोममदितिर्जगृभ्यात्सूनुं न माता हृद्यं सुशेवम् ।

V. 42. 2ab.

'May Aditi accept my hymn, which is pleasant and amiable, as a mother accepts a son.'

-hrdyam and *suśevam* are perhaps intended to be a part of the common term; *suśeva*, however, is primarily applicable to a sentient being. Thus a *śīśu* (V. 43. 14), or a *pitā* (VIII. 48. 4), or a *mātā* (X. 18. 10) is *suśeva*. *-hrdyam* may, on the other hand, be applied to a hymn as well. A *stoma* is called *hrdisprk* at I. 16. 7 and X. 47. 7.

(70) होतैव नः प्रथमः पाण्यस्य ।

V. 43. 3c.

'Drink this Soma of ours, first, like the inviting priest.'

For the simile, cf. I. 25. 17; VIII. 94. 6, etc.

(71-73) अञ्जन्ति यं प्रथयन्तो न विप्रा वृषावन्तं नामिना तर्पन्तः ।

पितुर्न पुत्र उपसि प्रेष्ठ आ घर्मो अभिभृतयन्नसादि ॥

V. 43. 7.

'The holy cauldron is placed on the fire, as the dear son is on the lap of his father—the cauldron, whom the priests annoint, like those that spread out (the Barhis and annoint it with ghee), and whom they heat with fire, like the pot containing the membrane.'

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The meaning of the stanza is very obscure. I supply *barhis* as the object of *prathayantah*, by which word I understand the priests who spread out the sacred grass around the Vedi and annoint it with ghee, to serve as a seat for the gods; cf. X. 110. 4. For the third simile, which is a compound one, cf. I. 185. 2 (*nityam na sūnum pitror upasthe*). In the second simile, what is meant by the *Upamāna vapāvantam* is not at all clear. The word is used as an adjective of Agni at VI. 1. 3 and Indra is called *vapodara* at VIII. 17. 8.

(74) अच्छा मही बृहती शंतमा गीर्दतो न गन्त्वन्विना हुवच्यै ॥

V. 43. 8ab.

‘May the great, mighty and most blissful prayer go to Asvinā to invite them, like a messenger.’

Of. I. 173. 3 and IV. 33. 1 for the same simile. In our passage, *huvadhyaḥ gantu* is the common term.

(75) गुन्तं निधिं धुरमाणिर्न नाभिम् ।

V. 43. 8d.

‘Go to the offering that is set down [nidhim], as the axle goes to the yoke and the central block of the wheel.’

The *Aśvinā* are compared with the axle (*āni*), and the offering, with the yoke and the central wooden block of a wheel. The point of the simile, however, is not very clear. To me it appears that, owing to metrical difficulties, there has taken place an interchange between the *Upamānas* of the *Aśvinā* and the *nidhi*: what was conceived as the *Upamāna* for the *Aśvinā* (namely *dhūr* and *nābhi*) is actually expressed as the *Upamāna* of the *nidhi* and *vice versa*. The poet evidently compared the two *Aśvinā* going to their common offering, with the yoke and the central wooden piece being connected with the common axle. The two things were conceived so as to correspond to the two *Aśvinā*.

(76) मातृपुत्रे परमे शुक्र आयोर्विपुन्यवो रास्तिरासो अगमन् ।

शुशेव्यं नमसा रातहव्याः शिशुं मृजन्त्यायवो न वासे ॥

V. 43. 14.

‘Bringing him their offerings, they serve the kind-hearted Agni in the exalted and bright place of the Mother prepared by man, (i.e. the Vedi), as men do a child in their home.’

śiśum is probably intended to be double-meaning. In the context, it refers to the new-born Agni, while in the simile, it refers to a child. The priests and the sacred altar are respectively compared with men and their home. I take *vāse* as a locative following Grassmann though the word *vāsa* occurs only here. It may also be taken as a dative with *Sāyana*, or as an infinitive with Ludwig; in that case, *vāse* must belong to the common term, i.e. *mṛjanti*; ‘they serve him that he may stay with them.’

(77) वि सूर्यो अमतिं न भ्रियं सात् ।

V. 45. 2a.

‘The Sun has distributed his glory like his lustre.’

Evidently, *na* has here the sense of ‘conjunction’. The Sun spreads out his *Amati*; cf. III. 38. 8; VII. 38. 1-2; 45. 3, etc. For the *śrī* of the Sun, cf. I. 122. 2.



(78) स्थूणेव सुमिता दंहत यौः ।

V. 45. 2d.

‘The heaven was firmly planted like a well-fixed pillar.’

-*sumitā sthūṇā* is a qualified Upamāna. Our *sthūṇā* is the same as the *upamit sthūṇā* at I. 59. 1 and the *upamit* at IV. 5. 1. It is the vertical pillar supporting the horizontal beams.

(79) आ सूर्यो अरुहच्छुक्रमणोर्युक्त यद्भरितो वीतपृष्ठाः ।

उद्गा न नावमनयन्तु धीराः :

V. 45. 10abc.

‘The Sun mounted upon the bright water, i.e. the firmament, when he yoked his bay steeds having agreeable backs. The wise gods have led him (through the firmament), as they lead a boat through water.’

-*udnā nāvam* is a qualified Upamāna; the Upameya is the Sun. The qualifying attribute of the Upamāna, namely *udnā* shows the ease with which the ‘leading’ is done. In the first line we have an Atīśayokti, where the mid-region is identified with water (*arṇas*). This leads the poet to the simile in the third line.

(80) हयो न विद्रां अयुजि स्वयं धुरि तां वहामि प्रतरणीमवस्युवम् ।

V. 46. 1ab.

‘Like an intelligent horse, I have put myself at the yoke (of the sacrifice). I carry that yoke, which advances and helps us forward.’

-*vidvān hayaḥ* is a qualified Upamāna. As regards a ‘knowing horse’, cf. my remarks on No. 12, in Similes of the Vāmadevas.

(81-82) तामस्य रीतिं परशोरिव प्रत्यनीकमख्यं भुजे अस्य वर्षसः ।

सच्चा यदि पितुमन्तमिव क्षयं रत्नं दधति भरद्वाजे विशे ॥

V. 48. 4.

‘I beheld that face and onrush of his, (i.e. of Agni), like that of a hatchet, for enjoying his body, when he bestows a gift, like a house filled with food, upon the people, who call on him in a battle.’

In the first simile, *ritim anīkam akhyam* is the common term. Like Agni, *paraśu* also is *svāsa*, i.e. *svanīka* (IV. 6. 8). Cf. No. 14 above. In the second simile, *iva* has the sense of ‘conjunction’, since both *ratna* and *kṣaya* are *prakṛta*. *-pitumantam kṣayam* is a qualified Upamāna. Agni himself is called a *pitumān kṣayaḥ* at I. 144. 7 and a *pitumatī samsat* at IV. 1. 8.

(83) नृमणा वीरपुस्त्योर्णा धीरेव सनिता ।

V. 50. 4cd.

‘He, the brave-minded possessor of a house filled with warriors, becomes the winner of waters as of the firm (dwellings).’

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Rgvedic Similes

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What is meant by *dhīrā* is doubtful. As a neuter plural form, it occurs at VII. 86. 1 and qualifies *janūmṣi*. Does *dhīrā* mean firm houses (*pastyāni*)? The word may be supplied from *virapastya*. Perhaps we should split up *dhīreva* into *dhīrah iva*. -*dhīra* then would be an Upamāna for the brave sacrificer. For *arṇā sanītā*, cf. *arṇasāti* at I. 63. 6; II. 20. 8; IV. 24. 4. Also cf. VI. 19. 12.

(84) सुता इन्द्राय वायवे सोमासु दध्याशिरः ।

निम्नं न यन्ति सिन्धवोभि प्रयः ॥

V. 51. 7.

‘The pressed-out juices of Soma, mixed with curds, go to Indra and Vāyu (as quickly and naturally) as rivers flow forth to a low place.’

Here also the subsidiary Upameya (Indra and Vāyu) and Upamāna (*nimna*) do not agree in respect of their cases. Perhaps we may construe *sutāḥ* with the datives and supply *tau* as the subsidiary Upameya. -*yanti*, with *sadhryak* supplied, is the common term; cf. IV. 47. 2; VIII. 32. 23. Also see I. 57. 2; IX. 97. 45.

(85) अत्रिवत्सुते रण ।

V. 51. 8c.

‘Find pleasure in (my) pressed juice, as you did in that of Atri.’

(86) स्वस्ति पन्थामनु चरेम सूर्योचन्द्रमसाविव ।

V. 51. 15ab.

‘May we follow our path safely, like the Sun and the Moon.’

The Sun and the Moon follow their path regularly; cf. X. 68. 10 and 92. 12.

(87) ते स्यन्द्रासो नोक्षणोतिष्कदन्ति शर्वरीः ॥

V. 52. 3ab.

‘They pass continuously through the nights like onrushing bulls.’

-*syandrāsah ukṣaṇah* (a qualified Upamāna) are the bulls, who travel continuously through the night, drawing a bullock-cart. The Maruts themselves are called *syandrā narah* at V. 52. 8; 87. 3, and the Soma is called *syandram dhanam* at X. 42. 5.

(88) अन्वेनां अहं विद्युतो मरुतो जज्झतीरिव भानुरर्तु त्मना दिवः ।

V. 52. 6cd.

‘The lightnings indeed, like gaily dressed women, follow these Maruts; the light of the heaven itself goes up.’

-*divo bhānuḥ* stands in apposition to *vidutaḥ*. -*jajḥatī* is a woman who shines on account of her bright dress and ornaments. The word seems to be onomatopoeic; cf. the Marathi word *jhaḡjhaḡit* meaning ‘glowing, shining.’

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(89) ते मे केचिन्न तायव ऊर्मा आसन्दुशि त्विषे ॥

V. 52. 12cd.

‘They, the defenders, were within my sight, for the sake of glory, like some unknown strangers.’

-kecit tāyavaḥ is a qualified Upamāna; *tāyu* is to be derived from $\sqrt{stā}$ or $\sqrt{stī}$ and is to be connected with *stena* and *steya*. The word *stāyu* also occurs at VS. 16. 21. *Tāyu* seems to mean ‘a stranger who does not belong to the place, where he shows himself’ and hence looks ‘strange or unusual’. The Maruts are said to be coming from the distant lands and hence they are compared with *tāyus*; cf. I. 39. 1; V. 53. 8; 61. 1 and X. 78. 7.

(90) अच्छ ऋषे मारुतं गुणं दाना मित्रं न योषणा ॥

V. 52. 14ab.

‘(Go) to the Host of Maruts, oh sage, with your (sacrificial) gift, as a noble maiden goes to her friendly lover.’

Supply the verb *ihī*. The *ṛṣi* is compared with a *yoṣanā* and the Maruts with her friendly lover. He is advised to approach them with a gift for them and not first to ask for a reward from them, as is suggested by the simile. The *yoṣanā* in the simile is evidently the *bhadrā vadhū*, who decorates and adorns her body and herself woos her friendly lover among men and who does not first expect any gifts from him like an ordinary girl: cf. *kiyatī yoṣā maryato vadhūyoḥ pari prītā panyasā vāryeṇa/bhadrā vadhūr bhavati yat supeśāḥ svayam sā miṭram vanute jane cit* (X. 27. 12). Here, perhaps, are the early Vedic beginnings of a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, which reached its culmination in the doctrine of Bhakti. *-dānā* is instr. sing. of *dāna* here, as well as at V. 52. 15 and 87. 2; also VIII. 20. 14. This is a compound simile.

(91) नू मन्वान एषां देवां अच्छ न वृक्षणा ।

दाना संचेत सूरिभिर्यामश्रुतेभिरञ्जिभिः ॥

V. 52. 15.

‘Now may he, i.e. the sage, meditating upon them, with his invigorating offering [*vakṣanā dānā*], as upon the gods, be associated with the priests, (i.e. the Maruts), who are famous in battles on account of their trappings.’

Sāyana takes *na* as a negative; but in view of the two parallel passages I. 132. 5 and I. 139. 1, it must be taken as a particle of comparison. *-vakṣanā*, adjective of *dānā*, is from $\sqrt{vakṣ}$ ‘to refresh’; *vakṣanam dānam* is ‘the refreshing offering’. Or, take *vakṣanā* as an instr. sing. of the fem. noun from $\sqrt{vah}$ ‘to carry’; *vakṣanā dānā* then would mean ‘with a prayer and an offering’. $\sqrt{sac}$ governs the instrumental; cf. I. 183. 2; II. 18. 2; V. 35. 5. $\sqrt{man}$ governs the genitive; cf. VI. 47. 29; X. 2. 5. And a genitive is equal to an accusative and *accha*. Cf. above No. 3. *-eṣām* expresses the Upameya and *devān accha*, the Upamāna. It seems (cf. also I. 132. 5 and 139. 1) that the Maruts are, like Indra, compared with all gods conjointly and shown to be as powerful as they are. Cf. for example, IV. 30. 5, where all gods are contrasted with one Indra. Similarly Agni is called *viśvo amṛtaḥ* at I. 70. 4; but this may be from a different point of view, namely because all gods derive their food from Agni. Cf. I. 59. 1b.

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(92) युष्माकं स्मा रथाँ अनु मुदे दधे मरुतो जीरदानवः ।
वृष्टी द्यावो यतीरिव ।

V. 53. 5.

‘Oh quick-giving Maruts, I feel rejoiced at your chariots, which are like the heavens which go forth (to men) with showers.’

I supply *ye rathāḥ* in *c* and take *vṛṣṭi yānam* as the common property. The common term, *yatīḥ* agrees with the Upamāna, i.e. *dyāvah* (fem.). -*yatīḥ* ‘going to men when invoked’; cf. *yataḥ marutaḥ* in No. 96 below. See also V. 53. 10 for the *ratha* of the Maruts being associated with showers of rain.

(93-94) तृट्टानाः सिन्धवः क्षोदसा रजुः प्रसस्रुर्धेनवो यथा ।
स्युन्ता अश्वा इवाध्वनो विमोचने वि यद्वर्तन्त एन्यः ॥

V. 53. 7.

‘The rivers, digging the region with their dashing stream, have rolled forth like milch-cows; (and) when the bright ones [*enīḥ*], i.e. the rivers, flowed separately each in its own bed [*vi vartanta*], (they ran forward eagerly), like horses that have travelled (to their destination and go forth eagerly to their respective stalls), when unyoked from the path (which they have traversed).’

In the first simile, the mountain rivers dashing down from the mountains are compared with the eager herds of cows running homeward in the evening, for which idea, cf. I. 66. 9; IV. 34. 5; V. 6. 1; IX. 66. 12, etc. In the second simile, the rivers flowing separately on descending to the plains are compared with the horses of a team, which at the end of their common journey are separately led to their respective stables. We have to supply the verb, i.e. *pra sasruḥ*, in the second simile, from the first. -*enī* is a river without doubt. Cf. V. 85. 7 and also X. 75. 7, where a river is again compared with a mare. The Upamāna in the second simile is a qualified one.

(95-96) स्तुहि भोजान्तस्तुवतो अस्य यामन्ति रण्णावो न यवसे ।
यतः पूर्वा इव सखीरनुहय ...

V. 53. 16abc.

‘Praise the liberal Maruts; may they rejoice at the sacrifice of the singer as the cows do in a preserved meadow. Call upon them as on old friends, because they go.’

The cows and other domestic animals are described as very fond of being in a *yavasa* in this very simile, which occurs very often in the Rgveda; cf. I. 91. 13; III. 45. 3; V. 9. 4; 78. 2; VII. 3. 2; 87. 2; VIII. 92. 12; X. 25. 1; 99. 8; 115. 2, etc. A wild animal (*mrga* or *paśu*), or, stray animals unattended by a cowboy were not allowed to graze there; see No. 17 above. In the second simile, *purvān sakhīn* is a qualified Upamāna. -*yataḥ* expresses the common property.

(97) वि यदज्जौ अजथ नाव ई यथा ।

V. 54. 4c.

‘When you urge forth the plains like the ships.’



-*ajatha* is the common term agreeing with the Upameya as usual. The two, namely the boats and the plains, are compared in respect of violent movement and shaking.

(98-99) तद्वीर्यं वो मरुतो महित्वनं दीर्घं ततान् सूर्यो न योजनम् ।

एता न यामे अगृभीतशोचिषोर्नश्वदां यन्न्ययातना गिरिम् ॥

V. 54. 5.

‘That is your power and that your greatness, oh Maruts, that (your loud-voiced ruddy horse) extended your chariot very far, as the Sun does. Your splendour was unassailable like that of your deer, during your march, when you attacked the mountain which did not yield the horse.’

-*yojana* is probably a chariot as at VIII. 72. 6. The *yojana* of the Maruts is mentioned at I. 88. 5. Similarly their *mahitvana* is spoken of at I. 166. 12 and V. 55. 4. In *b*, I supply *aruṣo vāji* (cf. V. 56. 7) as the subject of *taṭāna*. A ruddy horse is compared with the Sun at VIII. 34. 17 in point of brilliance. Similarly, the Maruts at I. 64. 2 and the Somas at IX. 101. 12, are compared with the Sun for brightness and loveliness. Here however, ‘drawing the chariot over a long distance’ is the common property. In the second simile, the Maruts are compared with their own deer. But the point of the simile cannot be clear until the legend alluded to in the stanza is known.

(100-101) अभ्राजि शर्धो मरुतो यदर्णसं मोषथा वृक्षं कपनेव वेधसः ।

अर्धं स्मा नो अरमतिं सजोषसश्चक्षुरिव यन्तुमनुनेषथा सुगम् ॥

V. 54. 6.

‘Your power shone brightly, oh Disposers, oh Maruts, when you plunder the wavy cloud, as a shaking woman does a fruit-laden tree. With common consent, lead our devotion to a happy end, as the eye leads a traveller to a safe path.’

I take *kapanā* as a young rustic girl who climbs up a tree and shakes it for felling the fruit. For the idea, cf. III. 45. 4 and IX. 97. 53. Both the similes are compound ones.

(102-103) नियुत्तन्तो ग्रामुजितो यथा नरोर्यमणो न मरुतः कवुन्धिनः ।

V. 54. 8ab.

‘They are mounted upon steeds like warriors who are conquerors of the bands of men. The Maruts carry with them a watery cloud like *Mitra*, *Varuṇa* and *Aryamā*.’

In the first simile, *grāmajito naraḥ* is a qualified Upamāna. Cf. No. 66 above for similar Upamānas used of the Maruts. -*niyutvantaḥ* (or *twiṣimantaḥ* supplied) is the common term. At X. 78. 6d, they are compared with a *mahāgrāma* for *twiṣ*. In the second simile, *Aryamaṇaḥ* stands for *Mitra*, *Varuṇa* and *Aryamā*, the three deities usually connected with rain; cf. I. 79. 3; VII. 40. 4, etc. -*kavandha* is a cloud filled with water, as at V. 85. 3, where also it is *Varuṇa* who handles the *kavandha*.

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(104) न यो युञ्जति तिष्यो ३ यथा दिवः ।

V. 54. 13c.

‘Which treasure does not fail the worshipper at any time like the *tiṣya* of the heaven.’

-*divah tiṣyaḥ* is the qualified Upamāna. *Tiṣya* is mentioned as one of the gods invited at the sacrifice at X. 64. 8. According to Sāyana, it is the Sun; perhaps it is the polar star.

(105) तद्वो यामि द्रविणं सद्यक्तयो येना स्वर्णं ततनाम नूरमि ।

V. 54. 15ab.

‘We beg of you that wealth, with which we may extend ourselves (i.e. our influence and power) over men, like the sun’s light, oh quick helpers.’

At I. 160. 5, the poet begs that power (*ojas*) of the deities, by which he may extend his power over men (*yena abhi kṛṣṭis tatanāma*).

(106) विरोकिणः सूर्यस्येव रश्मयः ।

V. 55. 3c.

‘The Maruts shine brightly like the rays of the Sun.’

At X. 78. 3, they are said to be *virokiṇaḥ* like the flames of Fire, and at I. 64. 2, they are compared with the Sun in point of brightness. Also see the next number.

(107) आभूषेण्यं वो मरुतो महित्वनं दिदृक्षेण्यं सूर्यस्येव चक्षणम् ।

V. 55. 4ab.

‘Your greatness, oh Maruts, is fit to be resorted to and your sight is lovely like that of the Sun.’

-*cakṣaṇam* is sight or appearance; cf. I. 13. 5; 105. 6, etc.

(108–110) मीळहुष्मतीव पृथिवी पराहता मदन्त्येत्यस्मदा ।

ऋक्षो न वो मरुतः शिमीर्वो अमौ दुध्नो गौरिव मीमयुः ॥

V. 56. 3.

‘Like the fertile land struck down (with showers), the Maruts go away from us, rejoicing! Your onslaught is ferocious like a bear, and invincible like a fierce bull.’

The poet fancies that the Maruts have rejoiced at his sacrifice and are going away on their forward march. They have sent down the showers and the Poet’s fertile land is fully gratified. The poet is probably looking at it when he compares it with the departing Maruts. -*asmad ā* cannot mean ‘towards us’ but it means ‘away from us’; cf. *parā etana* at V. 61. 4 and the adj. *parāhatā* of the Upamāna. The land is called *parāhatā* because, owing to rain, its dust becomes settled and does not rise up to the sky. In *b*, I supply *marutām senā* as the subject of *eti* and compare I. 186. 9 and IX. 96. 1.



In the second simile, *śimivantah* is the common property; the Maruts are called *śimivantah* at VIII. 20. 3; X. 78. 3. *-amah* is the Upameya in the second, as well as the third simile, where *dudhratva* is the common property, and *bhīmayuḥ gauḥ* the qualified Upamāna. Indra is compared with a *bhīma gau* at VIII. 81. 3.

(111) नि ये रिणन्त्योजसा वृथा गावो न दुर्धरः ॥

V. 56. 4ab.

‘Those who dig up (their enemies) very easily with their power, and who are bad at yoke, i.e. difficult to control, like bulls.’

Compare the last number for the simile.

(112) मरुतो पुरुतमुमपूर्व्यं गवां सर्गमिव ह्वये ।

V. 56. 5cd.

‘I invoke the most ample host of Maruts, which is wonderful like a (running) herd of cows.’

Supply *sardhas* or *gaṇam* as the Upameya and construe *apūrvyam* as the common term. At IV. 51. 8; 52. 5, the rays of the Dawns are compared with *gavām sargāḥ*. See also No. 5 above, and III. 33. 1.

(113) आ रुद्रासु इन्द्रवन्तः सजोषसो हिरण्यरथाः सुविताय गन्तवः ।

इयं वो अस्मत्प्रति हयते मतिस्तृणजे न दिव उत्सा उदन्यवे ॥

V. 57. 1.

‘Come, oh Rudras, accompanied by Indra, in your golden chariot, all together, for our welfare—this hymn from us lovingly approaches you—as the springs of Heaven go to a thirsty man longing for water.’

Max Muller construes *c* and *d* together so that, the hymn is compared with rain and the deity with a thirsty person. This however, is unusual, and Sāyana is right in comparing the deities with rain and the worshipper with a thirsty man. According to this construction, *c* is parenthetical. The rains of the heaven come down to a singer as a gift of the deity: cf. V. 53. 6; 63. 1; 5; 83. 6; VI. 13. 1, etc. Similarly *tṛṇaj* is used of a worshipper only, at I. 85. 11; 105. 7; VII. 33. 5, etc. *-udanyave* however, is doubtful; *udanyu* or *udanyan* is used of a deity; cf. IX. 86. 27; X. 99. 8; perhaps we had originally *udanyavah*, which was subsequently changed into *udanyave* under the influence of *tṛṇaje*.

(114-115) मरुतो ... यमा इव सुसदृशः सुपेशसः । महिना यौरिवोरवः ॥

V. 57. 4b, d.

‘The Maruts are equally lovely and beautiful like twin-born children; they are far-extending like Dyauḥ, owing to their greatness.’

-susadṛśah in the first and *uravah* in the second are the common terms; *yamāḥ* (plural) is sympathetic as at I. 164. 15. Generally, the common property, i.e. ‘similar appearance’ is not expressed as it is obvious, where



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yamau is used as an Upamāna; cf. I. 164. 15; II. 39. 2; X. 13. 3, etc. but here and at X. 117. 9, it is expressed.

(116-117) अरा ह्वेदचरमा अहेव प्र प्रजायन्ते ।

पृश्नेः पुत्रा उपमानो रमिष्ठाः ॥

V. 58. 5abc.

‘Like the spokes of a wheel, none of the furious and best sons of Pr̥ṣṇi is the last one; like days, they continuously appear forward and forward.’

The Maruts are all of them alike; cf. V. 57. 4; 59. 5 and 6. For the same simile, cf. X. 78. 4; also VIII. 20. 14 (where the idea is expressed in the form of a Rūpaka). In the second simile, the common property is ‘extension, growth, continuation’ etc. Compare *atan aheva sūryah* (VI. 61. 9) and *prāna āyurṁṣi tārir ahāniva sūryo vāsarāṇi* (VIII. 48. 7). The same Upamāna, i.e. *ahā* is used to convey the common property of ‘brightness’ at IV. 33. 6 and VIII. 96. 19.

(118) प्रथिष्ट यामन्पृथिवी विदेषां भर्तेव गर्भं स्वमिच्छवो धुः ॥

V. 58. 7ab.

‘Even the Earth stretched herself out when they marched; they put in her their own power, as a husband puts a child (in his wife).

-*svam śavah* is the *retas* of the Maruts, i.e. the rain. The verse speaks of a cosmic union between the Maruts and the Earth; cf. V. 83. 1; 4; 7, etc. The simile is a compound one, where *patnyām* has to be supplied, corresponding to *prthivyam* (understood).

(119) अमदिषां भ्रियसा भूमिरेजति नौर्न पूणा क्षरति व्यथिर्यती ।

V. 59. 2ab.

‘The Earth trembles through fear from their onslaught. It oozes like a shaking and fully-loaded boat, moving (in water).’

-*kṣarati* is the common property and *puṇā nauḥ* is the qualified Upamāna; *kṣarati* literally means ‘flows forth like a liquid’, then secondly ‘oozes from the inside, or leaks and becomes filled with water.’

(120-123) गवामिव श्रियसे शङ्खमुत्तमं सूर्यो न चक्षु रजसो विसर्जने ।

अत्या इव सुभ्वः श्वारवः स्थन मर्या इव श्रियसे चेतथा नरः ॥

V. 59. 3.

‘You are well known for your glory [śriyase] like the lofty horn of cows, and like the (gaily dressed) men, oh heroes. (You shine) like the Sun’s eye when the mid-region is cleared (of the clouds). Like well-built horses, you are lovely.’

In the first line, supply *cetatha* from the fourth, and construe the two together. We have four similes in the four lines here. In the first and the

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fourth, *śriyase cetatha* is the common property. The Upamānas in the first three are all of them qualified; thus we have *gavām uttamam śrṅgam, sūryo cakṣuḥ*, and *atyāḥ subhvaḥ*. In the second simile, supply either *sthana* from the third or *cetatha* from the fourth as the verb. For $\sqrt{cī}$ in the sense of 'to be known for', cf. VIII. 12. 1ab, among others. For the first simile, cf. III. 8. 10; for the second, cf. Nos. 106-107 above; for the third, cf. X. 78. 5a; and for the fourth, cf. VII. 56. 16; X. 78. 4. Also see below No. 125-127. -*rajaso visarjane*: cf. *sūryasya cakṣuḥ rajasā eti āvṛtam* I. 164. 14c and *sūryasya cakṣuḥ pra minanti vṛṣṭibhiḥ* V. 59. 5d. -*subhvaḥ atyāsaḥ*: cf. *subhvaḥ taraṇayah* at VII. 67. 8.

(124) यूयं ह भूमिं किरणं न रैजथ ।

V. 59. 4c.

'You shake off the earth like the speck of dust.'

For the simile, cf. I. 63. 1cd.

(125-127) अश्वा इवेदंरुषासः सर्वन्धवः शूरा इव प्रयुधः प्रोत युयुधुः ।

मयी इव सुवृधे वावृधुर्नरः सूर्यस्य चक्षुः प्र मिनन्ति वृष्टिभिः ॥

V. 59. 5.

'The closely related heroes are ruddy like horses; and they, the fighters, did fight like brave warriors. The prosperous ones did prosper like gay lovers; they destroy the eye of the Sun with showers.'

-*aruṣāsah*, *prayudhah* and *suṛdhah* are respectively the common terms in the three similes. The repetition of the verbal form in the 2nd and the 3rd is for emphasis. At X. 78. 4, the Maruts are compared with *jigivāmsah śūrāḥ* and at I. 85. 8, it is said that they are *śūrā ived yuyudhayo na jagmayah*. It would appear from the first simile that the Maruts are conceived as ruddy in complexion owing to their association with ruddy clouds, dust, lightnings, etc. *Uṣā* is similarly compared with an *aruṣi āsvā* at I. 30. 21; IV. 52. 2. The horses of *Uṣā* (VII. 75. 6), of *Brhaspati* (VII. 97. 6), of *Indra* (VIII. 34. 17), and of *Agni* (VII. 42. 2) are all said to be *aruṣa*. *Soma* is called *aruṣo vāji* at IX. 74. 1 and streams of ghee are also compared with it at IV. 58. 7. Finally, the Maruts are said to possess a great *aruṣo vāji* at V. 56. 7, in addition to the many ruddy mares which they yoke to their chariots (V. 56. 6). It would thus seem that a ruddy horse first became popular among the Vedic poets owing to its association with many visible deities, particularly the solar ones. An *aruṣi āsvā* is specially mentioned, possibly as particularly attractive, among the gifts received by the poet from his patron, at VIII. 68. 18.

(128) वयो न ये श्रेणीः प्रसुरोजसा ।

V. 59. 7a.

'The Maruts, who fly with their might in rows, like birds.'

-*vayo na śreṇīḥ*: the genitive is idiomatically dropped as in *sūryo na cakṣuḥ* (No. 122 above). For the simile, cf. *haṁsā iva śreṇīḥ yatante* at I. 163. 10 and III. 8. 9.



(129) रथैरिव प्र भरे वाजयद्भिः ।

V. 60. 1c.

‘I bring (my offerings to Agni and Maruts), as if on food-seeking chariots.’

This is an Utprekṣā. The Upamāna in it, i.e. *vājayanto rathāḥ* signifies eagerness and quickness of action; cf. I. 130. 5; V. 10. 5 VIII. 3. 15; and IX. 67. 17, etc.

(130) यत्कीलथ मरुत ऋष्टिमन्त आप इव सुप्र्यञ्चो धवध्वे ।

V. 60. 3cd.

‘When, oh Maruts, you play with your spears, you rush forth like waters flowing together in a mass.’

Compare IV. 47. 2. For *sadhryaṅca āpaḥ*, see III. 31. 16; X. 111. 10.

(131) वरा इवेद्वैवतासो हिरण्यैरसि स्वधाभिस्तन्वः पिपिश्रे ॥

V. 60. 4ab.

‘They have decorated their bodies, as they like, with golden ornaments, like rich bridegrooms.’

-*raivatāso varāḥ* is the qualified Upamāna. The gods are compared with *varāḥ* at I. 83. 2, and Soma, at IX. 101. 14.

(132) वि सुक्थानि नरो यमुः । पुत्रकृथे न जनयः ।

V. 61. 3bc.

‘The heroes have stretched out their legs (in riding), as women do in bringing forth a son.’

This is one of the very few passages, perhaps the only one in the Rv., where horse-riding is alluded to. -*putrakṛthā*: ‘production of a son’ cf. *putrakṛtheṣu yoniṣu* at X. 63. 15. Also see below No. 153.

(133) यो मे धेनूनां शतं वैददश्चिर्यथा ददत् । तुरन्त इव मंहनी ।

V. 61. 10.

‘So that [yathā], that son of Vidadaśva may give me liberally [mamhanā] a hundred cows, like (his brother) Taranta.’

-*yathā* here does not mean ‘like (M.M.)’, but ‘so that’ as at V. 20. 4; 55. 2; 59. 7; 61. 4, etc. The stanza is to be construed with the last one, i.e. 61. 9. The use of *yo* and *yathā* together is characteristic of the style of our poet.

(134) येषां श्रियाधिरुदसी विभ्राजन्ते रथेष्व । दिवि रुक्म इवोपरि ।

V. 61. 12.

‘The Maruts, who in their chariots shine over Heaven and Earth by their glory, like the golden ball in the heaven above.’

Supply *ye* (cf. 61. 11) and take *yeṣām* as reflexive; this is the best way to construe this otherwise difficult stanza, as suggested by Oldenberg. For the simile, cf. VI. 51. 1; VII. 63. 4 and also see above No. 4.



(135) एतं मे स्तोममूर्म्ये दार्भ्याय परा वह । गिरो देवि रथीरिव ॥

V. 61. 17.

‘Oh goddess Ūrmi, carry away this hymn, these songs of mine, to Dār̥bhya, like one who drives in a chariot.’

The Upamāna of a *rathī* is a common one and signifies quick and easy movement. Compare above No. 129 and Similes of the Vamadevas, Nos. 101 and 105.

(136) बर्हिरीव यजुषा रक्षमाणा ।

V. 62. 5b.

‘Defending (your holy law), as a sacrificer defends his *barhis* with a *yajus* chant.’

Supply *vr̥tam* in view of V. 69. 1d, as the principal Upameya and perhaps also *namasā* as the subsidiary one (from *namasvantā* in c of the same stanza), or even *amatyā* from a. The third Upamāna *adhvaryu* again has to be supplied to correspond to MitrāVaruṇā. So that here in a triple simile, two Upameyas and one Upamāna are dropped. Evidently, *barhis* stands for the sacrifice as at VII. 75. 8.

(137) हिरण्यनिर्णिगयो अस्य स्थूणा वि भ्रजते दिव्यः श्वार्जनीव ॥

V. 62. 7ab.

‘Its supporting beam is (made of) steel and is coated with gold. It shines in the heaven like the whip.’

This is the description of the chariot of MitrāVaruṇā. The *asvājani* is probably the lightning; cf. V. 83. 3.

(138) रथं युज्जते मरुतः शुमे सुखं शूरो न मित्रावरुणा गविष्टिषु ॥

V. 63. 5ab.

‘The Maruts yoke their easy-rolling car for glory, like a brave warrior in battles.’

For the simile, cf. No. 126 above.

(139) परिं ब्रजेव बाह्वोर्जगन्वासा स्वर्णरम् ।

V. 64. 1cd.

‘(We call upon Mitra and Varuṇa), who surround the Sun’s world in their arms, like two cow-stalls.’

The two deities are here compared with two cow-stalls, the point of similarity being ‘surrounding, encompassing’. -*bāhvoh* goes with the Upameya alone and shows the greatness of the deities. Their arms are as vast as a cow-stall; how vaster then must they themselves be?

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(140) उच्छन्त्या मे यजता देवक्षत्रे रुशद्वि ।

सुतं सोमं न हस्तिभिरा पृड्भिर्धौवतं नरा बिभ्रतावर्चनानसम् ॥

V. 64. 7.

‘You two gods should run to Arcanānas on your feet, holding your (ksatra), like this Soma juice which is pressed by the deft-handed priest, when Uṣā has dawned and when the shining Bull (Agni), who is under the power of the gods, (is set down).’

In the simile, I supply *ksatram* from the word *devakṣatre*. Also see the last stanza, i.e. V. 64. 6. The poet compares the *ksatra* with the Soma which is offered to them. As soon as they receive the Soma, they should put forth their power and run to the assistance of the poet Arcanānas. The common term is *bibhratau* and both the Upameya and the Upamāna are Prakṛta. For *ksatram bibhratau*, cf. *ksatram bṛhac ca bibhrataḥ* in the preceding stanza, i.e. V. 64. 6, and *rājānā ksatram bibhrataḥ saha devau* at V. 62. 6. These two passages leave no doubt that *ksatram* is intended by the poet as the object of *bibhratau*. -*hastibhis sutam*: cf. III. 36. 7 and IX. 80. 5.

The first half of the stanza is elliptical; yet the meaning is quite obvious. I supply *uṣā* after *ucchāntya* and cf. I. 184. 1 in particular. Similarly, I supply *hite* in *b* and understand Agni by *ruśad-gavi*. For the first half of the stanza, cf. the very similar line *abhūd uṣā; ruśat pasur agnir adhāyī* at V. 75. 9; also see V. 76. 1, and V. 1. 5 (*janīṣṭa hi janyo . . . hito hiteṣu*).

(141-142) ता हि क्षत्रमविहृतं सम्यगसुर्यमाशते ।

अथ व्रतेव मानुषं स्वर्णं धायि दर्शतम् ॥

V. 66. 2.

‘They happily enjoy undiminished sovereignty and power: Indeed, that power which is favourable to men is placed in them like their holy laws, and is agreeable like the sun’s light.’

Supply *ksatram* or *asuryam* in *c* from *ab*; cf. V. 10. 2; VI. 20. 2. The poet means to say that the holy laws which the gods enforce upon men are always associated with their supreme power, which they use to favour men, when they obey these laws. -*mānuṣam*: Agni at I. 44. 10, and Indra at I. 84. 20, are called *mānuṣa* in this sense. In the first simile, both the Upameya and the Upamāna, *ksatram* and *vrātā* are prakṛta and *iva* has the sense of ‘conjunction’. In the second simile, *darśatam* is the common property; cf. I. 148. 1; IV. 23. 6; II. 2. 7; 8; 10; 8. 4; IV. 45. 2; X. 43. 9, etc.

(143) विश्वे हि विश्ववेदसो . . . । व्रता पदेव सञ्चरे ॥

V. 67. 3ac.

‘They all, the omniscient ones, resort to their laws as if on foot (i.e. most easily, without labour).’

-*padā iva* is an *Utprekṣā*; for the meaning, see *Similes of the Vāmadevas*, No. 109.

(144) आ मित्रे वरुणे वयं गीर्भिर्जुहुमो अत्रिवत् ॥

V. 72. 1ab.

‘We offer to Mitra and Varuṇa with our hymns, like Atri.’



(145) इमा ब्रह्माणि वर्धनाश्विभ्यां सन्तु शन्तमा ।

या तक्षाम् रथोऽिव... ॥

V. 73. 10abc.

‘May these invigorating hymns, which we have fashioned like chariots, be pleasurable to the Áśvinā.’

The simile of a chariot for a hymn is very common; see Nos. 7; 48.

(146) पौरं चिच्छिदमुतं पौरं पौराय जिन्वथः ।

यदीं गृभीततातये सिंहमिव द्रुहस्पदे ॥

V. 74. 4.

‘(We long for you), oh Filler, since you, for the sake of the *paura*, i.e. the Soma, helped Paura, who was drowned in water for being held in clutches of the evil spirit like a lion.’

The accent of *jinvathah* shows that the sentence is a relative clause. I therefore supply *vayam vām ūsmasi* from the last stanza. There is evidently a pun intended on the word *paura*; first, it refers to the protégé of the Áśvinā, then to the Áśvinā conceived as one, and lastly, to the Soma drink. -*udaprutam paura*: (1) the use of the root $\sqrt{jinv}$ (cf. I. 112. 6; 156. 5; VIII. 22. 7); (2) the adjective *udaprutam*; (3) the existence of one Paura as a protégé of Indra (VIII. 3. 12; 50. 5; 54. 1); (4) and a possible exchange of protégés between Indra and the Áśvinā (cf. *Parāvrj*); all these show that here by *Pauram* we are to understand a person saved by the Áśvinā. Further, a comparison with I. 116. 24 and 117. 4, ought to leave no doubt that this Paura was no other than Rebha who was *viprutam udani pravṛtam* and who was afterwards ‘lifted like the Soma juice with a laddle’. -*Paura*: ‘Filler’, addressed to one of the Áśvinā; this is possible, but the poet may have intended the word to be a shortened form of *Paurā*, which latter is metrically impossible. Indra is called *paura* of horses (VIII. 61. 6) and Soma is called *paura* of Indra at II. 11. 11. -*paurāya*: This is generally taken as referring to the worshipper himself; but very probably it refers to Soma which is offered to Áśvinā after the rescue. Cf. the very similar situation at I. 116. 14, where evidently the poet compares Rebha with the Soma which was being offered to Áśvinā at a subsequent sacrifice. Perhaps punningly, *paura* may have been intended to refer to both; and the pun may have been suggested by the adjective *udaprutam* (used of the Soma at IX. 108. 7).

In the simile, *druhas pade grbhātātāye* is the common term. The *Upamāna* suggests the frustration of the intention of the enemy owing to the superior help which Paura got from the Áśvinā. Cf. also I. 117. 4 (*āsvam na gūḍham*). -*grbhātātāti*: In the Rv., *tāti* (from $\sqrt{tan}$) is used as a sort of ornamental appendage for several words, to indicate ‘fulness or completeness’. Thus we get, besides *devatāti* and *sarvatāti*, *astatāti* (V. 7. 6), *jyesthatāti* (V. 44. 1), *aristatāti* (X. 60. 8, etc.), *vasutāti* (I. 122. 5), *samtāti* (VIII. 18. 7), *satyatāti* (IV. 4. 14; X. 111. 4), etc. In the Av., we also get *dakṣatāti* (VIII. 1. 6); cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, Sec. 1238.

(147) प्र च्यवानाज्जुजुषो वृत्रिमत्कं न मुञ्चथः ।

V. 74. 5ab.

‘You released the skin from the old Cyavāna’s body like a garment.’

Elsewhere, the skin is compared with an armour; cf. I. 116. 10.



(148) अर्वाचीना विचेतसा विभिः श्येनेव दीयतम् ॥

V. 74. 9cd.

‘Fly with your winged horses [vibhiḥ], hereward, like eagles, oh wise gods.’

Śyena is often used as an Upamāna to convey the idea of high flying in the sky. Cf. I. 32. 14; VIII. 35. 9; IV. 38. 2, etc.

(149) हंसाविव पततुमा सुतौ उप ॥

V. 78. 1c.

‘Fly towards the pressed juices like two swans.’

The simile of a *Haṁsa* suggests ‘elegance’ rather than ‘force’ or ‘speed,’ as in the case of Śyena. ‘Flying in rows’ is their peculiarity; cf. I. 163. 10; III. 8. 9; IX. 32. 3. Their voice is deep and sweet; cf. III. 53. 10. The *Aśvinā* are again compared with *Haṁsas* at VIII. 35. 8.

(150-151) अश्विना हरिणाविव गौराश्विना यवसम् ।

हंसाविव पततुमा सुतौ उप ॥

V. 78. 2.

‘Oh *Aśvinā*, fly to the pressed juices, like stags, like wild bulls going to a meadow, like Swans.’

Both the similes are compound ones; the *Aśvinā* going to the Soma juices are compared with stags and bulls going to a preserved meadow. Usually in the *Rgveda*, the *gaura* as an Upamāna is mentioned as a thirsty animal moving about in search of water; cf. I. 16. 5; VII. 69. 6; 98. 1; VIII. 4. 3; 45. 24; 87. 1; 4. It is mentioned in connection with *yavasā* only here; but cf. No. 17 above. Our *gaura* may be the same as a *mrga* or a *paśu*. Perhaps the poet may have intended *hariṇāviva anu yavasam* as the compound simile and *gaurāviva* as the simple one as at VII. 69. 6. As such *gaurāviva* should have come after *yavasam*, but this was found metrically impossible and the words were kept as they now are.

(152) अत्रिर्यद्वामवरोहन्नुबीसमजोहवीन्नाधमानेव योषा ॥

V. 78 4ab.

‘When Atri, having descended to the abyss, called upon you, as did the beseeching woman, i.e. his wife, *Vadhrimatī*.’

-*nādhmānā yosā* refers to *Vadhrimatī*, wife of our poet *Saptavadhri*. Compare I. 116. 13; *nādhmana* is always used as an adjective of beseeching poets and singers. I have discussed the question of the unity of this difficult hymn elsewhere, and my conclusions in this behalf are as follows:—In vv. 1-3, the poet *Saptavadhri* invites the *Aśvinā* to the Soma offering at his sacrifice. In vv. 4-6, he recounts the help which he derived from them, comparing himself in this respect with his wife *Vadhrimatī*, who had derived similar help from them at the time of her difficult delivery. This brings him to the latter incident and the poet tries to reconstruct the words of command which the deities must have actually used on that occasion. I construe vv. 7-9 as the command of the *Aśvinā* to the *Mūḍha Garbha* of *Vadhrimatī*.

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(153) वि जिहीष्व वनस्यते योनिः सूर्यन्त्या इव ॥

V. 78. 5ab.

‘Open yourself up, oh Tree, like the womb of a woman about to be delivered.’

See above. The simile refers to the poet’s wife Vadhramatī. Also see above No. 132 for the simile.

(154) यथा वार्तः पुष्करिणीं समिद्ध्यति सर्वतः ।

एवा ते गर्भे एजतु निरैतु दशमास्यः ॥

V. 78. 7.

‘May your child move about (in your womb), as the wind moves, (moving) a lotus plant in all directions, and may it come out when it is ten months old.’

To make the simile more correctly expressed, we must supply *egan* as an adjective of *vāta* in *ab*. See the next number.

(155–157) यथा वातो यथा वनं यथा समुद्र एजति ।

एवा त्वं दशमास्य सहवैहि जरायुणा ॥

V. 78. 8.

‘(Move) like the wind, like the tree and like the ocean, oh foetus ten months old; and come out of the womb together with the membrane.’

The *garbha* is compared with the mover as well as the moved, i.e. the *vāta* and the *vana* and *samudra*. The point of similarity therefore, is merely the ‘movement’. There is no suggestion of the foetus causing trouble to the mother while coming out, as would seem from the way in which the simile in the last number is expressed. Even here supply *egan* in *cd*, to express the common property.

(158) नेत्वा स्तेनं यथा रिपुं तपाति सूर्यो अर्विषा ॥

V. 79. 9cd.

‘So that the Sun may not oppress you with his light, as he does a wicked thief.’

-*ripu* is an adjective of *stena*: cf. II. 23. 16; VII. 104. 10, etc. So that we have a qualified Upamāna here. At the rise of the Sun, the thieves and the evil-doers make themselves scarce; cf. I. 50. 2.

(159) ऋतस्य पन्थामन्वेति साधु प्रजान्तीव न दिशो मिनाति ।

V. 80. 4cd.

‘She, i.e. the Dawn follows well the path of Rta; like one who knows (the regions very well), she does not lose her quarters.’



Compare No. 65 above and also X. 32. 7. Our *prajānatī* corresponds to the *kṣetravit* in the latter passage. Our simile is reproduced at I. 124. 3.

(160-161) एषा शुभ्रा न तन्वो विदानोर्ध्वे स्नाती दृश्ये नो अस्थात् ॥

V. 80. 5ab.

‘This Uṣā, well-known like a girl lovely of body, has stood up for being seen by us, like a bathing woman standing in her full height.’

-*vidānā* is passive and means ‘famous for’, ‘known as’, etc. Cf. *hotā vidānaḥ* (II. 9. 1); *pathikṛt vidānaḥ* (VI. 21. 12) *viro vidānaḥ* (X. 111. 1). -*tanvaḥ* is to be construed with *śubhrā*; cf. *tanvaḥ śumbhamānāḥ* at I. 165. 5 and VII. 56. 11; *tanvā śubhānā* at VII. 72. 1 and *śumbhānaḥ tanvam svām* at VIII. 44. 12. Our simile is inverted at I. 57. 3, and a *śubhrā* i.e. the auspiciously-dressed wife of the sacrificer, is compared with Uṣā. The divine Doors are compared with *janayāḥ śumbhamānāḥ* at X. 110. 5. In the second simile, *urdhvā snātī* is the qualified Upamāna, but very probably *snātī* is conceived as an attribute of Uṣā herself (cf. VIII. 75. 8 where the *devānām viśaḥ* are compared with the *prasnātīr usrāḥ*) and *urdhvā* i.e. is thought of as an Utprekṣā. Besides, *urdhvā* and *asthāt* often go together: cf. I. 134. 1; 140. 8; III. 55. 14; 61. 3; VII. 43. 2, etc. Thus translate:—‘Bathing (in dew), she has stood erect as it were, that we may see her’.

(162) योषेव भद्रा नि रिणीते अप्सः ।

V. 80. 6b.

‘She, i.e. the Dawn, opens up her form (or bosom) like a lovely lady.’

We have a qualified Upamāna here namely *bhadrā yoṣā*. Cf. *bhadrā vadhūḥ* at X. 27. 12; *bhadre mene* at I. 95. 6 and *bhadrājānayaḥ martāsah* at V. 61. 4. -*bhadrā yoṣā* is probably a ‘loving or affectionate lady’. -*nirīṇīte* *apsaḥ* is the common property, for which Uṣā is again compared with a *hasrā* at I. 124. 7.

(163) रथीव कश्याश्चरि अभिक्षिपन्नाविदूतान्कृणुते वर्ष्या उ अह ॥

V. 83. 3ab.

‘(Parjanya) manifests his rain-bringing messengers (with his flashes of lightning), as a charioteer does his horses, urging them with his whip.’

This is a triple simile; one of the Upameyas, i.e. *vidyutā*, corresponding to *kaśayā* in the simile, is dropped.

(164) प्र या वाजं न हेषन्तं पुरुमस्यस्यर्जुनि ॥

V. 84. 2cd.

‘You, oh bright Earth, who hurl down the swelling one (i.e. the cloud) galloping like a horse.’

Generally it is *vājī*, but sometimes even *vāja* means a horse; cf. I. 52. 1; III. 2. 3; V. 54. 14. -*heṣantam*: from $\sqrt{hṛ}$ ‘to run forth’; cf. *sargāḥ sargātāḥ*



aheṣata at IX. 22. 1 and *mahiṣāḥ aheṣata* at IX. 73. 2. *-heṣantam vājam* is the qualified Upamāna. *-peru*, from $\sqrt{pr}$, is a cloud; for the earth's connection with a cloud, cf. V. 84. 3cd.

(165) वि यो जघान शमितेव चर्मोपस्तिरे पृथिवीं सूर्याय ॥

V. 85. 1cd.

‘He, who has beaten out the earth for being spread out (as a seat) for the Sun, as the immolator beats out the skin of the victim.’

-upastire vijaghāna is the common property; *upastire* is infinitive of *upa* $\sqrt{str}$. The skin is beaten out for serving as a seat.

(166) तेन विश्वस्य भुवनस्य राजा यवं न वृष्टिव्युनक्ति भूमं ॥

V. 85. 3cd.

‘And with that (cloud), the king of the whole creation moistens the earth as rain moistens a barley grain.’

-vi $\sqrt{ud}$ ‘to moisten, to cause to swell with water’. Compare the following passages, where the earth is said to be similarly moistened either by the Maruts, or by Parjanya or by Varuṇa, as in our passage:—I. 38. 9; 85. 5; 164. 47; V. 54. 8; 83. 8; 85. 4, etc. The simile is a compound one, Varuṇa and *bhūma* being respectively compared with *ṛṣṭi* and *yava*.

(167) मानेनेव तस्थिवां अन्तरिक्षे वि यो ममे पृथिवीं सूर्येण ।

V. 85. 5cd.

‘Who, standing in the mid-air, measured out the earth, with the Sun, as with a pole.’

The Sun is compared with a measuring pole. But perhaps an *Utprekṣā* is meant here; the poet seems to imagine the Sun himself as the pole. For the idea, cf. II. 15. 3 (*sadmeva prāco vi mimāya mānaih*) and also I. 39. 1.

(168-169) कित्वासो यद्विरिपुर्न दीवि यद्वा चा सत्यमुत यन्न विद्म ॥

सर्वा ता विष्य क्षिथिरेव देवाधा ते स्याम वरुण प्रियासः ॥

V. 85. 8.

‘Oh God, loosen all those (sins), which are like loosely-hanging limbs, and which they (i.e. our revilers) have imputed to us (lit. have smeared on our bodies) as gamblers do in gambling, or which are really committed by us, but which we are not aware of.’

-riripuḥ: i.e. *ripo dadhire*; supply *ripavaḥ* or *rakṣasaḥ* and compare VII. 104. 18. *-kitāvāsao dīvi* is a qualified Upamāna. The common term *riripuḥ* is omboxed between the two parts of it. *-dīvi* is locative. In the second simile, *śīthirā* probably refers to the decayed parts of the body, which hang about loosely, causing constant trouble. *-tā* is *enāmsi*; the Upamāna *śīthirā* suggests the troublesome nature of the Upameya, i.e. the sins, and its capacity to be easily removed without any danger. For this explanation of *śīthirā*, however, I am unable to quote any parallel passage from the R̥gveda. Perhaps *pāśāni* may have been meant by that word and sins are often compared with a *pāśa*.

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(170) दृढा चित्स प्र भेदति युम्ना वाणीरिव त्रितः ।

V. 86. 1cd.

‘He breaks open even the strong treasures, as Trita did the Vāṇis.’

-dr̥dhā usually occurs without a substantive and means strong places; see note on V. 39. 3, at BUJ., Sept. 1939, p. 25. Here it may be construed as an adjective of *dyumnā*; but it is also possible to take *dr̥dhā* and *dyumnā* as two objects of *pra bhedati*. Compare my note on IV. 31. 2, at BUJ., May, 1938, p. 62.

As regards the simile, it is very difficult to say what exactly the word *vāṇī* means. I think that the word is to be equated with *vāśrā* and *vāvasānā* and refers to the lowing cows in the cave of Vala. Trita is the semi-divine being, who is said to have been assisted by Indra and Agni, as in our passage, and to have broken open the stall of the cows of *tvastṛ*’s son *Triśīrṣan*, at X. 8. 7-8. At I. 52. 5, the simile of Trita is again employed for the same common property, i.e. ‘breaking’, but with a different subsidiary Upamāna namely *paridhīn* in stead of our *vāṇīh* (*bhinat valasya paridhīn iva Tritaḥ*) so that it would not be wrong to infer that our *vāṇīh* have something to do with Vala. Grassmann thinks that the Trita mentioned here is the same as the one who fell in a well and came out of it by the favour of the gods; cf. I. 105. 17-18. According to him, *vāṇīh* are the reeds in the well. The simile in that case becomes too mild and unexpressive. Nor does Sāyana’s explanation of *vāṇīh* as ‘the words of a rival’ appeal to me, owing to the mention of Trita in the simile. The simile is a compound one, having two Upamānas, Trita and *vāṇīh*, and the propriety of both must be explained.

(171) अह्वेन्ता चित्पुरो दुर्धेनैव देवावर्षते ॥

V. 86. 5cd.

‘For the sake of the (gift of a) horse, I hold in high esteem the two gods, who are deserving like the two *Amśas*.’

The *Aśvinā* are similarly compared with the two *Amśas* and requested to give wealth at X. 106. 9. Perhaps the two *Amśas* are *Amśa* and *Bhaga*; or the dual must be taken as a sympathetic one. *Bhaga* and *Amśa* are mentioned together at II. 27. 1; V. 42. 5. Both *Amśa* and *Bhaga* are ‘gods of distribution’ as their names suggest.

(172) एवेन्द्राग्निभ्यामहावि हव्यं शूष्यं घृतं न पूतमद्रिभिः ।

V. 86. 6ab.

‘Thus is the powerful offering, i.e. Soma, which is (pressed and) purified like ghee by the press-stones, offered to Indra and Agni.’

Generally, *pūtam* has to be construed as an adjective of *ghṛtam* when the latter is used as an Upamāna; cf. III. 2. 1; IV. 10. 6; 57. 2; V. 86. 6; VI. 10. 2; VIII. 12. 4; IX. 67. 12, etc. But in our passage, *pūtam* is more naturally construed as the common property, grammatically connected with *adribhiḥ*, and going with *havyam* and *ghṛtam* as well. At I. 135. 1, we get *tubhya ayam somah paripūto adribhiḥ*. For *pūtatva* as the common property of Soma and *ghṛta*, cf. IX. 67. 12 (*suto ghṛtam na pavate*), and above No. 25.



(173) कला तद्वो मरुतो नाश्वे शवो दाना महा तदेषामधृष्टासो नाद्रयः ॥

V. 87. 2cd.

‘That strength of yours, oh Maruts, is unassailable owing to your mental power; that belongs to them owing to their liberality and greatness. They are like unopposed mountains.’

Mark the repetition of the root $\sqrt{dhr̥ṣ}$ in *ādhr̥ṣe* and *adhṛṣṭāsaḥ*. I construe *dānā mahā tad esam* as an independent sentence, as at VIII. 20. 14. Similarly, I take *adhṛṣṭāso adrayaḥ* as the qualified Upamāna for the Maruts and not for their *śavaḥ*. Compare in particular, below No. 179. Also compare such expressions as *adhṛṣṭāḥ puraḥ* at VII. 3. 8; X. 101. 8, etc. Naturally, I do not take *adhṛṣṭāso* as the common term, but supply *ojasā santi* to express the common property, in view of I. 19. 4 (*anādhṛṣṭāsa ojasā*).

(174) अग्नयो न स्वविद्युतः ।

V. 87. 3d.

‘The Maruts are self-shining like the Fires.’

The Maruts are called *svabhānavāḥ* at I. 37. 2; V. 53. 4; 54. 1; *sva-rājāḥ* at V. 58. 1; *svaroṣiṣāḥ* at V. 87. 5. They are again compared with Agni’s *jihvāḥ* at X. 78. 3, and with blazing Fires in No. 176 below.

(175) खनो न वोमवात्रेजयदृषा लेषो यथिस्तविषः ।

V. 87. 5ab.

‘The vehement and mighty Wanderer, (i.e. Viṣṇu), the Bull, shook (the world) like your powerful uproar.’

-*amavān svanaḥ*: The *ama* of the Maruts is well known; cf. I. 38. 7; V. 59. 2; VI. 66. 6; VIII. 20. 7, etc. Agni is said to be unpreventable like the *svana* of the Maruts at I. 143. 5.

(176) ते न उरुष्यता निदः शुश्रुक्वांसो नाग्नयः ॥

V. 87. 6d.

‘Such as you are, defend us from reproach, like the blazing Fires.’

For the simile, cf. above No. 174 and I. 189. 4 (*pāhi no Agne śuśrūkvān*) and I. 97. 1 (*apa naḥ śośucad agham . . . Agniḥ*).

(177) ते रुद्रासुः सुमखा अग्नयौ यथा ।

V. 87. 7a.

‘These Rudras, i.e. the Maruts, are good fighters like the Fires.’

The Maruts are called *sumakha* at I. 64. 1 and 85. 4 and Agni, at IV. 3. 7 and 14,



(178) यु॒यो॒तु॒न॒ स्म॒द्र॒थ्यो॒ ऽ न॒ दंस॒नाप॒ द्वे॒षांसि॒ सनु॒तः ।

V. 87. 8cd.

‘With your wonderful power, completely (or skilfully) drive away to a secret place the enemies, like chariot-fighters.’

The Upamāna is *rathyah*; -*smat* is an adverb meaning ‘skilfully, well, completely, etc.’ Compare above No. 135 for the Upamāna.

(179) ज्ये॒ष्ठा॒सो न॒ पर्व॑ता॒सो...स्यात् दु॒र्ध॒त॒वो नि॒दः ।

V. 87. 9cd.

‘Be invincible to the reviler, oh Maruts, like the mighty mountains (in the heaven).’

Like *adhṛṣṭāsaḥ parvatāsaḥ*, *jyēṣṭhāsaḥ parvatāsaḥ* is a qualified Upamāna; *durdhartavaḥ syāta* expresses the common property. Perhaps *vyomani* also is a part of it.

(180) इ॒येन॑स्य॒ चि॒ज्ज॒व॒सा नू॒त॒नेना॑गच्छ॒तम॑श्वि॒ना श॑त॒मेन॑ ॥

V. 78. 4cd.

‘You went (to Atri’s help), oh Aśvinā, with the blissful and refreshing speed of an eagle!’

This is a solitary example of what Kāvyaṣaṣa calls a Nidarśanā (*abhavan vastusambadha upamāparikalpakah*). ‘With the speed of an eagle’ means ‘with the speed which resembles that of an eagle’. Also compare *manojavaḥ* and *vātaraṁhaḥ* as the attributes of the chariot of Aśvinā at VI. 77. 3.

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ISMAILIS AND QARMATIANS

By W. IVANOW

So much has been published on the subject of the origin of the Ismaili movement, and so many opinions, schemes and theories have been offered, that it looks really superfluous to lay before the reader one more paper devoted to the same topic. And, sadly enough, this is unavoidable, because despite of all this extensive literature we know next to nothing for certain about the matter. The present article introduces an important innovation: it is to a great extent based on the genuine sectarian tradition which so far remained inaccessible to orientalists. And even if our attempt to clarify this difficult problem may not completely attain the desired end, it is, nevertheless, necessary to make students acquainted with the Ismaili ideas on the question of the origin and early history of their own community.

Analyzing the information about Ismailism which is available in the general Muslim literature, and comparing it with what is accessible from genuine sectarian sources, it is not difficult to realize the cause of the deplorable confusion and helplessness of the historians to penetrate the mystery. The impression which is created is not that Ismailism was a world apart, entirely inaccessible to non-sectarian circles. Just the contrary, it seems as if there is very little in Ismailism, both in history and doctrine, that still remains a mystery. The neighbours of the Ismailis, surely, could worm out many of their secrets; their religious books on many an occasion of persecution would fall into the hands of their enemies; perhaps even there was no scarcity in renegades who could give correct information. Therefore, although, as every student knows, the bitter religious and political rivalry and enmity made all anti-Ismaili authors distort, pervert and falsify various facts and ideas, their records may contain valuable information, if only we could discover a proper system to separate what is false from what is true, and find out the correct co-relation of facts thus preserved.

This task is rendered very difficult by an enormous accumulation of the most glaring methodological errors. Committed in the heat of strife and argument by early authors, they were continuously repeated by those who followed them. And, finally, all this was inherited by modern orientalists, who, often relying too much on "contemporary sources", accepted and endorsed many of these errors. It is therefore necessary to give here a complete list of these, although many errors would appear as obvious and well-known. But it is better to go here through this matter in order to clear the ground, and not to be compelled to return to these questions again.

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1. *Local differences in Ismailism.* Rapid expansion of the sect and its widespread propaganda effort obviously could not permit consolidation of a uniform standard in every branch of the community. Local influences, the effect of certain centrifugal and centripetal currents in the leading circles, local peculiarities in the processes of evolution, etc., all this introduced far-reaching differences in the outlook of the Ismailis belonging to different provinces of the Ismaili world; they persist till now. It is therefore an error to disregard such local differences: what holds good for the doctrine as it prevailed in the locality A may be not quite correct in the case of the locality B, except for the most fundamental points. This most probably is quite true even for the earliest periods. Later on different splits which occurred in the community made such differences even more thorough.

2. *Evolution of the doctrine.* In the rapid tempo of the development of the political and religious struggle, and continuous conflict of ideas, Ismailism was always rapidly evolutionizing during its periods of activity. Every religion always officially remains the unshakeable, unalterable and eternal Truth, revealed by God. But only those religions succeed and survive which are handled by intelligent leaders who find the means of presenting the eternal and unalterable nucleus of religion in an up-to-date form, meeting the requirements of the life of masses, and satisfying their thirst for the reconciliation of the high ideals preached to them with the imperfection of this world. Manoeuvring in this direction, different Ismaili leaders had to advance and retreat, incorporate new ideas, or give up and expel old ones, alter the point of view on various matters, reconcile apparent contradictions, etc. Moreover, this evolution was not uniform for the whole community, but had its individual course in every considerable branch, which, as already mentioned in the preceding paragraph, often had substantial points of disagreement from the start. It is therefore easy to see what a hopeless mess should come out of the indiscriminate combination of the reports of different authors who in every case had in view a different community, not only with regard to the place, but also in connection with a different period of time. The information which we find in historical works of a later period, and all sorts of compilations, therefore resemble a heap of small splinters of a large glass vase: its reconstruction from these fragments is possible only when we have at least a general idea as to its original shape.

3. *Anachronisms.* Besides the historical anachronisms which are referred to in the preceding paragraph, and are quite appreciable in the part which they play in the general study, there are what we may call hidden anachronisms. These are the beliefs and ideas which are already obsolete, and yet are still retained in the system of the religion by sheer conservatism, by the imperfect work of the "metabolism of ideas" in religious systems. Uncovering the mechanism of religion, we may see how enormous collection of the most heterogeneous, obsolete and even simply useless and harmful



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elements religious conservatism retains in the different religious systems; and not only retains, but often regards it as its most sacred heritage; wars may be waged, and thousands may die in the struggle for the retention of some meaningless and abstruse formulas which in reality serve no practical purpose. In dealing with such fossil formations in the living tissues of religion great care should be paid to the realization of their real nature. And when we find these in an isolated and fragmentary state in the reports of the heresiologists or controversialists, we cannot appreciate the real part which they played in the system.

4. *Confusion between the exoteric and esoteric ideas.* Going through the works of different heresiologists, historians, etc., we are often surprised by the amazing meagreness of what they can say about different heretical doctrines. Very often nothing but a few words exhaust all their heresy: believed in such or such a thing; deified so-and-so. The same thing applies to Ismailism. A learned and religiously-minded author picks up at random a couple of beliefs which he regards as the most colourful and typical as instances of the alleged heresy: what can you say more about the people who sincerely believe in such impious nonsense? For us, centuries later, in our long search for information concerning the ideas of these early religious societies, it is obvious that there was a complex dogmatic system which, judging from the author's passing over it in silence, most probably differed very little from the normal, or orthodox form of Islam. With the access to the genuine Ismaili literature this seems to be now clarified: early Ismailism, not as a religion of a few mystics and specialists in esoteric speculation, but as the religion of wide masses, was almost a standard form of Islam, only slightly supplemented with some additional beliefs concerned with the theory of the Imamatus and some other Shi'ite and purely Ismaili ideas. And although Ismaili esoterism exercised a great influence upon the evolution of the Islamic mind, the historian is primarily concerned with the standard form, which was the moving power in the life of the masses. It is therefore impossible to pronounce on different points, or to explain anything in the history of Ismailism by reference to esoteric theories only, and especially in their fragmentary state as found in the reports of different heresiologists. It may be also added that such esoteric speculations are extremely misleading when they touch on historical events, and, generally, realities of life. It must be properly noted that while in the ordinary doctrine (*ẓāhir*) everything is based on tradition, conservatism, and formal logic, in the sphere of esoteric speculations the things are just the reverse of this. There is absolutely nothing like established standards, generally accepted principles, etc. Every author strains his fantasy to explain this or that question in a novel way, making use of the same old philosophical and mystical speculations. The uncharted sea of the *ta'wīl*, or allegorical interpretation of religion, gives full freedom to

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every one to sail any way he likes. In all these allegories, explanations and interpretations suggested there is agreement only in very few of the most fundamental points. It is therefore impossible to compile a dictionary, a sort of a cipher code of such esoteric meanings, just as it is impossible to prepare a similar dictionary of mystical allegories used by different authors in Sufic poetry. Every author, in every individual poem has his individual inspiration, and lays this or that mystic sense into all such worn out metaphors as "wine", "mole on the cheek of the beloved", etc. We can only register them, but cannot make any use of these in deciphering the hidden meaning of any other mystic poem, in general. These esoteric ideas also had their local differences, their own evolution, were differently distributed in different branches of the sect, and present still less uniformity or continuity than the details of dogma.

5. *Non-Ismaili elements in Ismailism.* Their part must be by no means underestimated. Some of them are quite fictitious, and exist only in the ingenious guesses and conjectures of the learned authors, Eastern or Western. The Eastern would trace different ideas to the ancient heretical sects, to Manichaeism, etc. The Western may easily discover the ever-ready "Indian influence". But apart from the activity of imagination, continuous contact with non-Ismaili population, and especially the necessity of outwardly following the rites and the practices of the majority amongst whom the Ismailis lived in disguise, all have strongly impressed indelible traces of their influence upon the Ismaili system in general, and especially upon the later developments in Persia and India. This especially applies to Sufism which by its continuous influence almost revolutionised Persian, and, through it, Indian Ismailism in some communities.

In analysing the materials derived from non-Ismaili, and even from the genuine Ismaili sources, we have to make a careful selection of facts and information. But how to do this? It is insufficient to be on guard and act critically,—with all our criticism, purely negative, we cannot hope to find the correct relation between the facts, however carefully scrutinized. The only guiding thread, however unreliable, is the genuine sectarian tradition, obviously itself taken with great caution and criticism. This tradition, after more than a thousand years of evolution, is hardly reliable in the form as it still exists. But it may be to a great extent trusted for the earliest periods, in the form in which it is preserved in early Ismaili literature.

It is a great pity that Ismailism never developed a taste for historiography. The records that exist are too meagre and semi-legendary to be of much value, and therefore it is anyhow unavoidable to make use of non-Ismaili sources while studying the history of Ismailism. But however meagre and even misleading



the Ismaili tradition may be, it has a quality which is very valuable for us in our efforts: it does not split the things pertaining to the movement, but takes them in their entirety. And this gives us to a certain extent the much needed point of orientation, the key to the general character of the events and the direction of the development of the doctrine.

The present paper is an attempt to make use of this in application to the matters connected with the origin and the earliest steps of the movement as they may appear from the collation of the original sectarian point of view with those which are accepted in general literature.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

Being one of the most important branches of Shi'ism, the Ismaili movement cannot be properly studied without a correct realization of the nature and ideology of the Shi'ite "opposition" in Islam. In this matter there are still many errors in the general ideas on the subject. These mostly come from one and the same source: the desire,—however laudable by nature,—of being perfectly faithful to the letter and spirit of the original sources, on which the conclusions of the modern orientalist are based. This methodological error completely disregards the wide historical perspective of more than a millennium, and slavishly sticks to the narrow vision of the early caliphate circles; it upholds their ideas on, and the attitude towards the movement. It is quite obvious that from the point of view of the Abbasid authorities, faced with the grave danger of the rapidly growing threat of the Shi'ite propaganda, Shi'ism appeared only as a subversive political current. It was not in their interests to recognize its religious nature, thus creating an additional advantage for their antagonists. Logically enough they did their best to treat the movement as a series of purely political "Alid intrigues", making at the same time an extraordinary fuss about the alleged impieties of some extremist sects, deliberately falsifying facts, and attributing these impious tendencies and practices to all the Shi'ite groups; in the case of the Ismailis the whole movement has thus become "Qarmatian".

In a critical study of the question we cannot evade the responsibility for taking an independent opinion, and not hiding ourselves behind the "unanimous testimony" of the early historians. In their works such "unanimous testimony" was not always the result of clear vision. Many, indeed, blindly followed their sources; others supported a hostile attitude on religious grounds; some others again, including even pro-Shi'itic writers, hesitated to deviate from the official inimical position, etc. Therefore a revision of many points in the theories which are still generally accepted is very necessary, and it is impossible to omit a reference here,—however concise,—to some of the most important errors.

1. *Shi'ism was not a "schism" in Islam*, as is generally accepted. Islam, as it was under its Founder, was a *theocracy*,

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i.e. the state ruled by God Himself, through His special Apostle, to whom the Divine will was revealed in every case of necessity. God is the only lawgiver; He guides His Messenger in the matters of the routine of his life and work; on the occasion of a war He instructs His people to dig trenches; He even settles domestic disputes of the Prophet, etc. After this, with the death of the Founder of the religion, Islam suddenly finds itself a sort of a patriarchal republic, with an elected dictator at the head, and without any arrangements about religious guidance except for, according to the Sunnite tradition, vague instructions to follow the prescriptions of the Coran (which at that time was not yet codified, and only in small portions was known to few) and the elusive "example of the Prophet", which, quite naturally, could not be known in its entirety even to his nearest associates. All this is regarded by the exponents of the official attitude as perfectly normal and correct. But it does not require any strain on the imagination to believe that this state of things was viewed with serious opposition in conservative circles, who could not so easily give up the original theocratic principle, even without the slightest political motive or selfish interest at the bottom, but simply out of religious sentiment and fanatical devotion to the religion by which many, surely, were animated.

In the absence of contemporary documents it is impossible to verify the Shi'ite tradition about 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib being designated by the Prophet himself as his successor at the head of the community (at Ghadir Khumm, and on some other occasions). And, after all, it is really immaterial whether this tradition is supported by documents, or not. For the historian it only matters that the single candidate of such conservative religious party is from the beginning to the end 'Alī, with his house. The candidature of 'Alī, and this conservative movement are so inseparable that from the point of view of their opponents the whole meaning of the struggle is the fight of the party of 'Alī for the (secular) authority. This, however, seems to be putting the cart before the horse. Shi'ite tradition, from the earliest available documents, so uniformly and so unshakeably attests the religious basis of the movement that it is impossible to deny that 'Alī's rights were based on Shi'ism, and not that Shi'ism was a secondary development of his political strife.

The general idea that "Shi'ism was in the beginning for several decades a purely political movement, and only later on has developed its own religious ideology", seems to be perfectly erroneous. This point of view takes for granted the state of things that the Shi'ites have introduced a "schism" by developing new (and therefore heretic) ideas, while the opposite school always remained unchangeable, standing where it stood at the time of the Prophet himself. All this is an obvious fiction. The real fact certainly is that at the moment of the appearance of the ideological differences the dogmatic ideas of both parties were on the whole more or less the same (or equally vague); in the course of



time the natural evolution has inevitably taken different course, more and more revealing the drift apart. It is quite natural that the Shi'itic, or theocratic, tendency had its own special problems in the development of its dogmatic system, just as the Sunnite schools had theirs. But it is an indisputable fact that *both* parties were moving, and if from the Sunnite point of view Shi'ism was a "schism", it was itself a schism from the point of view of their opponents. We have only to recognize the fact that both these parties have sprung from the original phase of Islam inevitably and naturally, each supplementing the other, one being conservative and theocratic, and the other secularistic.

2. *The rights of 'Alī and his house.* In the theological and controversial literature, both of Sunnism and Shi'ism, a considerable number of works touch on the question of the rights of 'Alī to the highest authority in Islam, to the exclusion of other early candidates. And these discussions find their repercussions in the works of modern orientalisks. The relations of 'Alī and the Prophet, his services to Islam, his personal qualities as compared with those of his rivals, etc., are eagerly discussed. All this is perfectly futile, just as taking part in the discussions of the apologists of Islam as to the special qualifications of the Prophet for his mission, or Christian apologists about the person of Jesus. In the conflicting tradition about 'Alī very few reliable facts may be found. But even if we could have the most perfect and reliable biographies, of himself and his successors, it would be only a matter of curiosity, however legitimate. For the historian it matters only that 'Alī, and no one else, was the object of the popular beliefs, which on certain occasions even passed all limits of the reasonable. The fundamental Shi'ite idea which underlies this worship is the belief that the Divine revelation, received by the Prophet, was not transmitted in all its entirety to his people, who were still not ready to understand it, and that the reserved balance was entrusted to 'Alī, whose mission, also Divine in character, was to serve as a repository of this wisdom, and gradually reveal it to the people. He had to be the continuator of the work of the Prophet, and as his mission, obviously, could not be completed within his own life time, his work had to be continued by his descendants. It is quite natural that such continuity of religious guidance had to be effected by the succession of the son to his father. In the primitive mentality of the ignorant masses any other manner of succession would appear too sophisticated and unsafe. It is quite possible that the claims to the secular authority by the sons of 'Alī, and the tragic end of Ḥusayn which stirred up the whole of the Muslim world, have finally strengthened the public sentiment for the hereditary principle in the succession of Imamāt.

In any case, it seems quite obvious that Shi'ism, with its principle of hereditary Imamāt, was an organic development of the ideas inherent in the original Islam. If the popular sentiment would not have selected 'Alī for this high mission, it would chose

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some one else. But it seems highly improbable that merely the claims of 'Ali, as a private individual, even closely connected with the Prophet, and even endowed with great talents, but deprived of the support of the religious sentiment, grown out of the very nature of Islam, could ever create such an enormous movement in Islam, which even now, thirteen centuries since its beginning, is still running strong as an active religious force.

3. *Non-religious factors in Shi'ism.* The extraordinary dynamism and "explosive" force of Shi'ite ideas, as also the remarkable tenacity and "depth" of the movement in the psychology of the masses, always attracted the attention of historians, and there is no scarcity of all sorts of ingenious theories explaining these strange phenomena: cravings of the Alids and their supporters for authority, plots of Persian nationalists who made Shi'ism a tool to destroy Islam, etc. There was never any scarcity, indeed, in the people fond of fishing in troubled waters, and it is quite possible that there were many unscrupulous people who exploited Shi'ite risings for selfish ends. Shi'ite theocratic conception of Islam possibly appealed to the Persian mind more than the rigid formalism of orthodoxy. But this surely cannot serve as an exhaustive explanation for the mass movement of the magnitude of Shi'ism.

We must not forget that in early Mediaeval life religion occupied the most central position of the "focus" of all aspects of social, spiritual, cultural, etc., activities of man. Almost everything was either regulated by religion, or, at least, had to obtain its sanction. Therefore everything in life was contemplated through the prism of religion, and assumed religious forms. The endless wars, risings, defects in the working of the administrative, fiscal, and other departments of the government machine, etc., spread tremendous distress in the masses, and led to the fall of the Omayyad dynasty. This state of things has not become much better with the accession of the Abbasids; and, with the growing decomposition of their caliphate, grew worse. In the religious mentality of the masses the source of the trouble was regarded as the lack of piety in the rulers, who permitted oppression and tyranny, against the prescriptions of the Divine Law. Therefore nothing could be so popular as the (Shi'ite) dream of the advent of the theocratical ruler, who would not violate and disregard the dictates of religion, and thus could fill the earth with justice as much as it was always filled with oppression and injustice. This dream, quite natural and inevitable, assumed different forms, either of Messianistic expectations which fixed different dates for the impatiently expected "end of the world", or of unlimited sympathy for the Shi'ite propaganda. In the modern world all sorts of industrial disputes and grievances of the workers have the panacea of the socialistic paradisaical state. Shi'ite ideals apparently played a similar part at the time; and just as every protesting factory worker is not necessarily a socialist, or even understands its theory, but joins the movement organized by socialists for having no other form of organized protest to join, so,



most probably, many non-Shi'ites participated in the risings of that remote time without necessarily belonging to any particular sect, or sharing all its doctrines. The great appeal of the Shi'ite ideal to the masses consisted in its promise to alleviate the lot of the people; and its great danger to official authority was its threat of organizing the discontent of the masses, and making it active.

4. *Shi'ite sects, and their part in the movement.* Studying the works of mediaeval heresiologists and theologians who have preserved for us information about the early Islamic sects, as mentioned above, one is disappointed to find almost nothing but a series of names, and laconic indications: believed in such-or-such a thing, deified so-and-so. These sects appear to spring up and disappear almost overnight, change their ideas, leaders, split, amalgamate, etc., in a bewildering kaleidoscopic movement. As mentioned above, it is quite clear that the dogmatic system of any of such sects could not have been exhausted by one or two freakish beliefs, or by the deification of a certain Alid. Access to Ismaili literature unveils the real state of things: after so much being written about the tremendously nefarious ideas of Ismailism, it appears that in reality, apart from abstruse philosophic speculations which remained secret for all except a few specialists, the real religion of Ismailism, as known to the masses, differed very little not only from the "orthodox" Ithna-'ashari doctrine, but even from Sunnism. It is therefore more than probable that extraordinary beliefs were in reality the business of the fanatical "tops" of these sects, devoted to mystic speculations, intrigue, and settling personal accounts. The masses professed the ordinary form of Islam. Their curiosity and cravings for mysticism and esoterism were probably fed by different superstitious ideas and popular beliefs; but these, on the whole, mattered little so far as their life and normal activity was concerned. Their allegiance to this or that Alid claiming Imamat most probably depended on the extent of his success: the sects which were managed better, attracted more followers, and could swell their ranks with extraordinary speed, at the expense of other sects, on the decline, which would shrink with catastrophic rapidity. It is also possible to think that there was something like a permanent proportion between the Sunnite-minded and the Shi'ite-minded masses, probably based on certain economical divisions. And such mass of supporters of Shi'ism could be very quickly "magnetized" or "demagnetized" in the favour of a sectarian movement by a properly organized effort, depending on the skill and energy of the leading group who started the campaign. Many things in the history of Ismailism may be explained by keeping in mind such possibilities, of which there are many instances in the whole history of Shi'ism. Such reshufflings amongst the Shi'ites, transferred from one rival sect to the other, may be traced in the history of Ismailism, in the biographies of many prominent men. The end of the third/ninth c. saw many brilliant Ithna-'asharis



join Ismailism, and render services of enormous value: Maṣṣūru'l-Yaman, Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh ash-Shī'i, and many others may be mentioned. And we will not commit a grave error if we bring this in connection with the events which took place within the Ithna-'ashari group by that time, such as the discontinuation of the line of their Imams in 260/874, with the "disappearance" of the last Imam, Muḥammad Mahdī, "in a cave".

5. *Orthodoxy and heterodoxy in Shi'ism.* There is a definite tendency in the works of many orientalists to regard the Ithna-'ashari school of the Shi'ites as "orthodox", and Ismailism as heterodox, a "heretical sect". This idea is often taken as something granted, universally accepted. And yet it is in reality quite unwarranted. The history of the doctrine of the Ithna-'ashari sect shows that in its evolution it has absorbed many earlier sects, with some of their heretical doctrines, rejecting some others, i.e. acting exactly in the same way as the Sunni, Ismaili, and probably all other schools. On the other hand, it is quite baseless to treat everything in Ismailism as a "heresy". In some beliefs, in certain departments of the legal system, etc., Ismailism is more archaic, and therefore more "orthodox" than the Ithna-'ashari school, including the theory of Imamāt. There is no such thing as the purely "orthodox" form of Shi'ism, as there is no genuine "orthodox" form of Islam in general. The conception of "hereticism" means nothing but deviation from a certain accepted standard, and all depends on what this accepted standard is. The same applies to the idea of the "main", or the "orthodox" line of the Imams.

II. THE ISMAILI VERSION OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SECT.

As is known to every one who ever took interest in the subject, Ismā'il b. Ja'far, a descendant of 'Alī, after whom the sect is named, was not its founder. The designation is of comparatively late origin (probably not before the tenth c. A.D.), and only refers to the fact that the Imams, the spiritual leaders of this branch of the Shi'ites, traced their genealogy from 'Alī through this Ismā'il. For every Ismaili his religion is simply Islam, the only correct version in which the original doctrine of the Prophet has been preserved. Its history begins with the Prophet himself. But this is not all. For every Muslim Islam is not simply "Muhammadanism", i.e. the religion founded by Muḥammad the Prophet. As it is already expressed in the Coran itself, Islam is the final and correct revelation of the *religion of God* in general, i.e. the only true and eternal Divine law and doctrine of which earlier and imperfect phases are formed by the great religions of antiquity, such as Christianity, Judaism, and so on, as far back as the religion of Noah and Adam. Its revelation was gradual, keeping pace with the gradual mental progress of man. But even this is not all: the flight of religious fantasy does not stop at the Biblical and



Coranic creation of the world in six days from nothing. There is any amount of religious myths about the existence of the world of spirits, or even of successive creations of other worlds before the present one was created.¹ Similarly, the Prophet Muḥammad was not incidentally chosen for his exalted mission: he was a scion of the specially prophetic stock, directly descending from Adam, through all the preceding great prophets. Moreover, his spirit, or *light*, or really abstract "prophetism", existed before the creation. All this, in a still greater degree, popular belief applies to 'Alī. Many Shi'ite sects deify him, making him the actual Creator of the Universe. Whatever may be the attitude of the modern man to all this, the student must realize that for the mediaeval devotee such things were not the "flight of religious fantasy", but almost certain and indisputable facts which it would be sinful to doubt.

For all these reasons we have to start the history of the Ismailis long before they were officially recognized as a separate sect. In this respect all that refers to the history of the early Islam, and especially early Shi'ism, should really be repeated here. It will suffice, however, to recall that very little authentic information is available about the earliest phases of Shi'ism. Practically no original documents have been preserved, and even the earliest Imams themselves appear as dim and shadowy figures. Their human features are indiscernible in the bright nimbus of great piety and miraculous virtues with which tradition has endowed them. It is impossible to gauge correctly their contributions to the evolution of Shi'ism, or even define the outlines of their real beliefs. It seems, anyhow, that it is a reliable fact that the real founder of Shi'ism as a separate theological school was Ja'far b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. ca. 148/765). Thousands of different works are ascribed to his authorship, but apparently none is in reality preserved. The consensus both of Shi'ite and Sunnite opinion ascribes to him great piety and remarkable talents. Born in Medina in 80/699, or 83/702, he was living through one of the most difficult periods for Shi'ism. The Islamic world was full of unrest, the Omayyad empire was rapidly collapsing, and different Shi'ite movements spreading. Ultimately in 132/750, as is known, the Omayyad authority was overthrown by the huge upheaval led by Abū Muslim, placing the Abbasids on the throne of the caliphs. These from the beginning were still more zealous of and hostile to the Alids, and did everything to stamp out Shi'ite propaganda. It is quite obvious how precarious would be the position of Imam

¹ It is probable that ultimately many of such fantastic tales may be traced to Talmudic literature. In Persian literature they are often met with in popular books, in the form of questions and answers, given by Ka'b al-Aḥbār, or some other semi-legendary early wise man connected with Judaism. Sometimes it is Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq himself who reveals such things. However dull all such fantasies are, it would be worth while to study their sources and development, which probably had much to do with early Shi'ite speculations.



Ja'far as one of the most prominent members of the house of 'Alī at the time. We know next to nothing for certain about the circumstances of his life, although there are many stories, mostly of a much later origin. But it is important that all sources agree in this—his great theological importance, and his being a man of keen intellect taking interest in different sciences, or rather pseudo-sciences, such as astrology, etc.¹

Although it is impossible to draw a clear picture of his activities, we may assume that, obviously under the pressure of the general situation of his time, he chiefly emphasized the tendency of moderation and sobriety in religious beliefs, i.e. exactly the qualities which strike us so much in early Ismailism. And, secondly, being himself a very learned man for his time, he probably encouraged to a certain extent the spirit of enlightened religious broadmindedness, again so typical of the early Ismaili doctrine. Though it is nothing but a conjecture, it is possible to say that probably being the chief founder of Shi'ism in general, as a dogmatic system, he was also the founder of Ismailism, both in its *zāhir*, or plain doctrine, and, to an extent, also in the *bāṭin*, or esoterism.² His diplomatic tact in the relations with the old and new regimes, and his influence over his adherents, helped him to lay sound foundations of further Shi'ite evolution.³

It must be clearly realized that our ideas about the evolution of the Shi'ite dogmatic system, the struggle of different currents of opinion, etc., still lack details for the whole period of the first three centuries of the history of Islam. The earliest dated and genuine works of the Ismaili and the Ithna-'ashari sects, accessible at

¹ Sayyid-nā Idrīs devotes the greater part of the fourth vol. of his '*Uyūnu'l-akhbār*' to the biography of Imam Ja'far, apparently deriving his information chiefly from Qāḍī an-Nu'mān's *Sharḥu'l-akhbār*. Unfortunately he never mentions his sources. But with all the means at his disposal he does not offer any connected story of his life, or any chronological landmarks.

² As is known, Ismaili tradition believes that the real initiator of the principle of Ismailism of "Islamizing" the science and philosophy of the time, and making it serve in the development of Islamic theology, was Imam Aḥmad b. 'Abdī'l-lāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, who probably flourished a century later, in the middle of the third/ninth c. He, probably in collaboration with his *dā'īs*, compiled the famous *Rasā'il* of the *Ikhvānu'l-ṣ-ṣafā*, in order, as the Ismailis believe, to paralyze the evil effects on religion of the impious policy of caliph al-Ma'mūn, and others, of permitting and encouraging the translation of Greek learned literature. In general literature, as is known, the appearance of the *Rasā'il* is placed in the fifth/eleventh c. But the whole story of this work is very strange and enigmatic: its doctrine appears too archaic for its supposed date, and such details as to its being a product of a learned society, specially formed for its compilation, etc., raise great doubts. Perhaps a suggestion that it really was composed in the third/ninth c., but was kept in great secret until it was no longer up-to-date, may to some extent explain the position.

³ According to Kashī, and the information collected by Sayyid-nā Idrīs, some of his daughters were married to the members of the Omayyad royal family. After the enthronement of the Abbasids, as it appears in the '*Uyūnu'l-akhbār*', he had to travel to Baghdad on many occasions. Of course, "Baghdad" here stands generally for the name of the headquarters of the caliph, who did not always remain in Baghdad.



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present, begin to appear only in the IV/Xth c.¹ Therefore the "history of Ismailism" for this early period is little more than what little we know about the history of their Imams.

The question of the development and evolution of the dogma of Imamat is too complex to be discussed here. It will be sufficient for the purpose to mention that the idea of the Imam, as either the religious or secular head of the Islamic world, varies from the idea of the "First Muslim" in the community, to the position of the hereditary king, caliph. It was continuously changing with the changes in the political situation, struggle of different interests, etc. Early annals have preserved the names of scores of different Shi'ite movements, and of hundreds of different Alids who claimed their rights to the supremacy and the highest authority in Islam.

During the early period most probably the prevalent opinion on the subject of their candidature was everywhere more or less the same as that which is still preserved in the most archaic Shi'ite sect, Zaydism, namely that every genuine Alid has as much right to Imamat as the other; that there may be several Imams at one and the same time; that the Imamat may be seized by force, transferred, cancelled, etc.

With the progress of the theological development of the doctrine of Shi'ism, and its gradual deviation from the course taken by Sunnism, the dogma of Imamat began to take a more and more prominent position in the system. With the chances of the access to the secular authority diminishing, the religious aspect of the Supreme Pontificate in Islam, the Imamat, has acquired greater importance. The question of succession therefore grew into a serious problem. If secular authority could be wrought by force, spiritual authority had to be acquired in more regular ways. Although the earliest history of Shi'ism is dark, it is highly possible that certain ideas were introduced and incorporated under the influence of different real historical events, or the activities of some outstanding men. It seems quite clear that the basic Shi'ite theory about the Imam being the spiritual leader of Islam, the continuator of the mission of the Prophet, and the repository of the still unrevealed religious wisdom, was finally shaped chiefly, if not entirely, under the influence of the dominating personality of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq,—the real, or as he became reflected in popular tradition. Although some other Alids had initially more success in the masses, they have left no trace, while Imam Ja'far has founded what is regarded "the main", or "orthodox" line of the Imams, not only as regards his predecessors, but also descendants. Their exceptional position in the house of 'Alī has made it impossible to apply in the question of their succession the same ideas which were underlying the

¹ There are, indeed, a number of works attributed to the authorship of early Shi'ite saints, such as the Imams, al-Mufaḍḍal, and others; but even if their text is ancient, there is no doubt that such works only contain an early tradition about the doctrine, and not the original composition of the author himself. Tūsi's List leaves no doubt as to this.

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Zaydite principle. It is difficult to trace the evolution of the views of the different Shi'ite sects on this point. Apparently the most primitive and natural was the succession by primogeniture. But this was bound to meet with great difficulties in practice, and has ultimately yielded to the principle of the succession by a special religious act of the "*naṣṣ*", i.e. public transmission of the special rights and privileges, ordinary and Divine, from the father to the selected son and heir. Probably not at once, but gradually, the *naṣṣ* has acquired the importance of a Divine act; it could not be cancelled, revoked, altered, etc. From the religious point of view it was even considered impossible that the Imam-designate could pre-decease his father. Such an obviously uncontrollable event could prejudice the prestige of the whole line.

It is quite obvious that in practice it was impossible to avoid such undesirable situations, and such strict theoretical principles were occasionally violated, silently or openly, often evoking much opposition, creating splits in the community, etc. However much the hereditary principle and direct succession were honoured in theory, we may recall such instances as al-Ḥākim's appointing as his successor and the next Imam his relative 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, who had no right to succeed him in the ordinary course. In as late a document as the epistle of the Fatimid caliph al-Āmir (495-524/1101-1130), written in the beginning of the vi/xiith c., he, himself an Imam of his branch of the Ismailis, openly opposes this, supporting the theory that the *naṣṣ*, or the designation of the heir-apparent, *can* be revoked and altered, and that it has to follow the general rules of the *sharī'a* with regard to inheritance of property.¹ Thus it is plain that in the Shi'ite world as a whole there never was anything like a uniform opinion on this subject, and this always led to misunderstandings and serious conflicts. The position of the Shi'ites with statesmanlike instinct was really difficult: to give up the strict hereditary principle of succession would mean opening the gates to dynastic struggles around the throne. And to adhere to it rigidly was not always possible in practice. Therefore the majority had to take the first rule as an ideal, and adhere to it as much as possible, but not to reject in some cases certain inevitable violations of the principle.²

¹ Cf. A. A. A. Fyzee, *Al-Hidāyatul-Āmiriyya* (Bombay, 1936), Introduction, p. 6.

² The Fatimid tradition had to make such an exception in the case of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, sons of 'Alī, formulating the principle that "Imamat cannot pass from one brother to the other brother, except in the case of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn". The fact that Ismā'il predeceased his father, Imam Ja'far, caused much worry to many Ismaili theologians. As is known, many special theories were introduced, such as that his death was merely a ruse, and that in reality he fled to Constantinople, etc. These beliefs are of a very early origin (already recorded by Nawbakhtī); they still continue in the ideas of some Ismaili sub-sects. Another theory was that the Imamat passed from Imam Ja'far straight to his grandson, Imam Muḥammad b. Ismā'il. Yet another version is that by appointing his son, Ismā'il, as an



As is known, exactly this problem was the formal cause of the Ismaili sect coming in existence (although, most probably, as a certain religious current, it was bound to manifest itself, perhaps earlier or later, under a different name). It was the question of the succession after the death of Imam Ja'far. According to the overwhelming majority of the available sources, both sectarian and of their opponents, Imam Ja'far appointed as his successor his eldest son Ismā'il, by his first wife, a highly aristocratic lady, great grand-daughter of Imam Hasan.¹ About the biography of Ismā'il practically nothing is known. The only reference to him, which seems to be really historical, is an incidental mention of his participation in a dispute over the persecution of the Shi'ites in Medina in 133/751.² From this it is obvious that he was still alive then, and was already an adult. As he was the eldest son of Imam Ja'far, who himself was born in 80/699, it is quite possible that he was over thirty at that time. When and how he died, remains unknown, but again the overwhelming majority takes it that he pre-deceased his father.³ This seems to be an indisputable fact.⁴ As apparently other sons of Imam Ja'far by his first wife were also dead by that time, he appointed as his successor his youngest son, Mūsā surnamed al-Kāzīm, who, according to different sources, was then under eighteen. He was the son of a Maghribi Negro concubine,

Imam, Imam Ja'far has thus resigned. Therefore Ismā'il was a real Imam, and after him Imamāt had to pass to his son, Muḥammad. Cf. Nawbakhtī, pp. 69 sqq. It is apparently under the Ithna-'ashari influence that the principle of the equality of the Imams, and of Imamāt passing only by inheritance to the son from his father, was enforced in the Persian school, after the reforms of Ḥasan 'alā dhikri-hi's-salām of Alamūt.

¹ Cf. Nawbakhtī, p. 58; 'Umdatul-t-tālib, p. 208.

² Cf. W. Ivanow, "Imam Ismā'il" (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1923, pp. 305-310), based on Kashī. Sayyid-nā Idrīs narrates the same story, with slight variants, in the fourth vol. of the 'Uyūnu'l-akḥbār.

³ Anti-Ismaili sources also report that Ismā'il has been deprived of his rights by his father for his indulgence in drink. The Ithna-'ashari sources (cf. 'Umdatul-t-tālib, and even Kashī) attribute to him intriguing in the extremist circles, which were not encouraged by his father, Imam Ja'far. Cf. B. Lewis, "The Origins of Ismā'ilism", pp. 38-40. All these details, preserved to the posterity about the person of whom nothing else is remembered, show their tendentious character, and we cannot take them seriously.

⁴ It is very interesting to watch how one and the same story is used as an argument in their favour by opposing parties. The well known, oft repeated story about Imam Ja'far's repeated stopping the burial procession of his son, Ismā'il, and asking those present to be witnesses that the dead body to be buried was really that of his son, is taken by one party as a decisive argument, proving that Ismā'il really died before his father. But the sectarians who want to believe that Ismā'il has not predeceased his father, bring it as the proof of a ruse (although how this could be a ruse, and how a complete likeness was achieved in the substitute for a successful disguise, is not explained). On the whole, this story seems to be very strange, especially because it seems to be really old. As it is always narrated in one and the same version, it is quite probable that it was invented and put into circulation by some one at a very early time, and was ever since repeated in the absence of any other material referring to Ismā'il in general literature.



was black,¹ and apparently except for his great piety was remarkable only for his prolificacy: during his comparatively short life (he died about 183/799) he had no less than 60 children.²

As all historians report, the majority of the followers of Imam Ja'far, realizing the situation, accepted the fact, and recognized Mūsā as the head of the Alid family, and their spiritual leader.³ But the more devout minority, strictly adhering, as mentioned above, to the principle of the irrevocability of the *naṣṣ*, insisted on recognizing Ismā'il as the next Imam, and on believing that after him Imamatus should pass to his eldest son Muḥammad, who was at the time of the death of Imam Ja'far 26 years old (this seems to be quite possible chronologically).⁴ As according to the *sharī'a* the son inherits in preference to the grandson, Mūsā apparently was recognized by the secular authorities as the legitimate successor of Imam Ja'far in his position, so far as it was concerned with the outer world, and Muḥammad's position had become very difficult in Medina, compelling him to emigrate to Kūfa, and later on further Eastwards to Persia.⁵

Thus the following of Imam Ja'far has become split into two main parties,—the Ismailis, i.e. supporters of the Imamatus of Ismā'il, with his successors, and the Mūsawites, who later on became known as the Twelvers, Ithnā-'asharites.⁶ It is obvious that dogmatically

¹ Cf. *'Umdatul-tālib*, p. 174.

² Cf. *'Umdatul-tālib*, p. 175: 23 male and 37 female. The exact date of his death is given by Nawbakhtī (p. 72) as "five nights before the end of Rajab 183", i.e. the 2nd Sept. 799.

³ This is acknowledged by Sayyid-nā Idrīs, who refers to Mūsā b. Ja'far in very flattering terms, extolling his piety and learning. There were, however, several groups which regarded other sons of Imam Ja'far as rightful successors to Imamatus. These also were deified, regarded as immortal, etc., just as many other Imams, as Ismā'il, his son Muḥammad, Mūsā himself, etc.

⁴ It is difficult to see whether there were several groups supporting the rights of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, or only one which is called by Nawbakhtī *Mubārakiyya*, after a certain *mawla* of Ismā'il, Mubārak (Nawb. 58). The same thing appears in the *Kutāb az-Zīna*, by Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, who, however, gives much less detail. It is strange that Mubārak himself is not mentioned by Sayyid-nā Idrīs.

⁵ The stories about Muḥammad b. Ismā'il are very contradictory. The *'Umdatul-tālib* (208) plainly says that he went with Hārūn ar-Rashīd to 'Irāq, and died in Baghdad. The *Dastūru'l-munajjimīn*, quoted by de Goeje, mentions India as the country to which he departed; this also appears in some other sources. Some of them, including Sayyid-nā Idrīs himself, who has sent him in his *'Uyūnu'l-akḥbār* to Nihāwand, make him travel to Naysābūr (i.e. Nishāpūr) in Khorasan in his *Zuhru'l-ma'ānī*. In an amusing way he mentions that Muḥammad b. Ismā'il was there known as 'Aṭṭār,—an obvious misapprehension and erroneous identification with the famous Persian Sufic poet, Farīdu'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār, who flourished three centuries later, and was popular in sectarian circles. Persian Ismailis regard him as a member of their sect. Most probably these variants of Nihāwand, Damāwand, Naysābūr, etc., are due to confusion in writing and insufficient familiarity of Arab scribes with Persian geographical names.

⁶ It is difficult to find the truth about the reports of different authors who mention a great number of sects which deified each of these Alids. There is every reason to think that these were small groups of mystics who had no



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both branches would not have differed much at that time. The difference apparently was still insignificant even two centuries later, when the rise of the Fatimid empire enabled their adherents to produce a great theological literature. But the difference of the circumstances in which both branches began to develop changed their general policy and tendency completely. The party of Mūsā, always under strict surveillance of the Abbasid authorities, and led by very pious, but apparently not very intellectual Imams of his line, persistently cultivated one aspect of Imam Ja'far's policy, — caution and strict moderation of Shi'ite aspirations. During a century which elapsed before his line became extinct (in 260/874), this tradition took deep roots in his party, and was preserved later on with much consistency.¹

The fate of the successors of Ismā'il and his son Muḥammad was quite different. Their emigration to the East brought them into the conditions quite different from those of Medina, with its settled life, and priestly outlook of an important pilgrimage centre, Arab and thoroughly Islamized population accustomed to the strict formalism of the rigid rules of Islamic worship, and quite content with their position. In Persia they found fresh converts, people of quite different mentality, for whom the rigidity of the Semitic Islam had little attraction, but who were full of enthusiasm to seek for deeper and greater truths in it. They were the same people who later on have given such tremendous momentum to the Sufic movement, and continuously produced numerous sects with more or less gnostic, mystic, or philosophic tendencies. The successors of Ismā'il were therefore compelled to pay more attention to the other aspect of Imam Ja'far's heritage,—the philosophical and esoteric theories, which were more in demand here. This probably defined the further course of the evolution of Ismailism, which though it never gave up its strictly Islamic substance, had, nevertheless, to reconcile it with the philosophy of the time. This fact always so much shocked the formalists and pedants in Islam.

influence on masses, and commanded a very small following. It is necessary to note that such extremist groups were also found in connection with the line of the Imams who later on have become the "main", or the "orthodox" branch of the Alids. Their heretical doctrines probably were not taken seriously, and later on were simply forgotten. The same process was obviously going in the Ismaili group of sub-sects.

¹ All that we know about this period is chiefly based on the Shi'ite authors of the IV/Xth c.; and it would be interesting to find out how far such definitely moderate policy, which continues in the Ithna-'ashari theological school throughout its history, often severely opposing popular and Sufic tendencies of mysticism and extremism, was inherited by them from the Imams, or was introduced by them under the influence of the general tendencies of moderation all over the Islamic world. We may see that the attitude of restraint and sobriety manifests itself in all principal schools,—Sunnism, Ismailism and Ithna-'asharism in the iv/xth c., apparently as a reaction against the excited struggle of early sects during the first three centuries of the history of Islam.

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From the general historical literature nothing is known about Muḥammad b. Ismā'il beyond the fact that he existed.¹ For information about his biography after his emigration only Ismaili sources should be searched. These, however, are very meagre and full of contradictions and anachronisms. It is known from Shi'ite genealogical works that he had at least two sons, Ja'far and Ismā'il, and that both of them left a numerous posterity.² Ismaili sources keep almost complete silence about them.³ This may either mean that these his sons were known to them under different names, or, perhaps, that they, born before his emigration from Medina, remained at home, and did not participate in further events.

All information available from Ismaili sources has been summed up by Sayyid-nā Idrīs, in the fourth volume of his history of Ismailism, the *'Uyūnu'l-akḥbār* (which, we must remember, was completed in 842/1438).⁴ It deserves being analyzed in detail.

Very unfortunately for students, Sayyid-nā Idrīs was a theologian more than a historian. His avowed purpose is to glorify the Imams, and narrate their achievements for the instruction of the faithful. He therefore gives his narrative a dramatic form, mixing up legend and history, anachronisms and obscurities; and although, most probably, his version contains grains of truth, some details of the story savour too much of the Arabian Nights to be taken seriously. Even Hārūn ar-Rashīd and his famous wife Zubayda are included into the story. She appears as a supporter of Shi'ism and of the Imams. When her husband Hārūn (170-193/786-809) tells her after the death of Mūsā b. Ja'far (183/799) that he wants to arrest as a hostage Muḥammad b. Ismā'il as another eminent Alid, she, through her confidential agents, warns the Imam, urging him to take refuge in Kūfa. This he does, and later proceeds to Persia. As is known, Zubayda was married to Hārūn in 165/782, and Mūsā died in 183/799. It is difficult to believe that Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, being about 63 years old at that time, and seeing his chief rival, Mūsā, disappear, would only then decide to emigrate. There can be little doubt that in reality he emigrated long before this date. Anyhow, the pious Sayyid-nā proceeds, in his Arabian-Nights way, with the story about a certain noble Persian lady, a

¹ He is referred to several times by Ṭabarī, although it is not quite certain on some occasions whether it is he who is referred to. In any case, the reference to him in III, 2218 is quite unequivocal. This is apparently the earliest reference to him in historical literature.

² Cf. *'Umdatul-t-tālib*, p. 209 sqq. The same in 'Ubaydallī (referred to by de Goeje, p. 9).

³ The author of the *Dastūru'l-munajjimīn* (cf. de Goeje, "Mémoire", p. 203) mentions in addition to these two also Ahmad, 'Alī, al-Ḥusayn, and 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān. The first three are mentioned by Sayyid-nā Idrīs in his story, but the last one never appears in any other known source. Most probably here 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān stands, by mistake, for 'Abdu'l-lāh. Sayyid-nā Idrīs only once refers to Ja'far and Ismā'il; they play no part in his narrative.

⁴ See for details W. Ivanow, "Guide to Ismaili Literature", No. 258 (on p. 62).



Shi'ite, kept as a hostage at the court, a sister of the governor of Ray, Ishāq b. al-'Abbās al-Fārsī. The learned Sayyid-nā in his works always shows remarkable knowledge of marriages and domestic occurrences in the life of the Imams. Here also the story turns on the desire of Zubayda to marry the daughter of the governor's sister to the Imam, who, if all this is true, should have been over 63 at that time. With remarkable wealth of detail the Sayyid-nā tells how the Imam arrived from Kūfa in Ray, how he married the girl, what dowry he received, what presents he had himself given, and so on. From this union 'Abdu'l-lāh, his successor, was born. (Later on the aged Imam married another lady, and had four sons by her; and still later, after her death, yet a third lady, by whom he had a daughter.) But the wicked Hārūn ultimately traces the Imam in Ray, and demands his surrender, threatening otherwise an invasion. The governor helps him to escape to Nihāwand. Hārūn invades Ray and executes the governor. In fact, Hārūn really marched to *Khorasan* in 189/805, and confiscated the property of the governor, 'Alī b. Mūsā, a man with Shi'ite leanings (or, perhaps, simply a Shi'ite), who was systematically misappropriating government funds (cf. Tabarī, III, 704-706); but he had apparently nothing to do with Ray, Khuzistan and Fars. Anyhow, the name of the Imam is not mentioned at all in this connection.

It is quite possible that all these details are purely ornamental and fictitious. But it is quite probable that Muḥammad b. Ismā'il really emigrated to Kūfa soon after the death of his grandfather, and from Kūfa found his way into Persia. The name of Ray also sounds quite probable,—not the town, but the province. The town of Qum, in the province of Ray, as is known, from the earliest times was an important centre of Persian Shi'ism, and had a large Alid colony. It still remains an important place of pilgrimage in Persia.

The further route of the Imam is very obscure. Different sources mention Nihāwand (Sayyid-nā Idrīs), Damāwand (Rashīdu'd-dīn and, generally, Persian historians), India (*Dastūru'l-munajjimīn*; Indian tradition which believes that the Imam, Pīr Sat Gur Nūr, is buried in Navsari, North of Bombay).¹ It is very difficult to decide between the first two, while the third version is purely legendary. It is easy to see that the names Nihāwand and Damāwand may be so easily mistaken one for another in not quite a clear handwriting. The only detailed account, that is so far known, is given by Sayyid-nā Idrīs; but it seems to be suspicious from the start. It is reasonable to believe that the Imam, threatened by his persecutors, would take refuge in the wild and inaccessible locality such as the mountains around Damāwand (the highest peak of Persia, an extinct volcano, N.E. of Tehran),

¹ Cf. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam-Shah in Gujrat" (JBBRAS, 1936, p. 60). realpatidar.com



especially because it was so close to Ray, where the events had overtaken him. In the labyrinth of the thickly wooded Northern slopes and gorges of the Damāwand massive a religious refugee may feel perfectly safe. But although many persecuted sects have found a refuge in Mazandaran in the course of history, there are no indications as to Ismailism having any serious following there at that early period. On the contrary, Khūzistān, N. Fars, and the adjacent portion of Southern Mesopotamia appear to be the chief centre from which Ismailism came out to spread far. It is therefore quite possible that in the fragmentary and confused tradition accessible to Sayyid-nā Idrīs both versions have become mixed up.

He mentions that the Imam went to Nihāwand, where he settled in the *district* of Sh-l-m-b-h (Shalamba) in which the governor had bought for him a village, called S-r-h-h, or Sh-r-h-h. The name may be read in many ways, the most probable being something like Surkha, Sharja, etc. But the name should not be necessarily Persian: if ancient, it may be autochthonous, and the ancient population of the province was not Iranian; it would be surprising that the name of a hamlet could be preserved intact during more than a millennium.

Early Arab geographers mention no such district in the province of Jibāl to which Nihāwand belonged. But Shalamba was a district in the mountains of Damāwand. Rashīdu'd-dīn, in his *Jāmi' u't-tawārīkh* (R. Levy, in JRAS., 1930), mentions that Muḥammad b. Ismā'il took refuge in the *village* S-m-l-h in the "district" of Damāwand. It seems clear that although he obviously refers to the late Persian tradition, he means exactly the same place, and thus this trace cannot be easily given up. If we stick to the Nihāwand theory, nothing better may be suggested than the village of Sanbil or Sanbīl (now in the district of Rāmhurmūz), in Khūzistān. As further on the places that are referred to in the story apparently all belong to S. Persia, it is quite probable that the Imam really went to the vicinity of Damāwand, and, later on, he migrated to a more promising centre in the vicinity of the Southern Mesopotamia, really passing this time through Nihāwand, which, so-to-say, for the sake of brevity, was identified by the people insufficiently conversant with Persian geography with the former name.

Anyhow, in this enigmatic hamlet of Sarḥa, either in the Damāwand or Nihāwand district, he is traced by an Abbasid agent, a Turk called Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Khurāsānī (not known to history), who surprises the Imam in the mosque. But, being a secret Shi'ite himself, he permits him to escape. The story is narrated with many details, and looks as if taken from an early hagiological work (which Sayyid-nā Idrīs, as usual, does not care to mention).

From here the Imam goes to Āzar, a three days' journey. There is no such place in Mazandaran. The name, of course, may be differently read as A-r-z, A-r-d, A-r-w, etc. There was a village



with exactly the same name, Āzar, in the province of Khūzistān, district of Dawraq (cf. Schwarz, "Iran in Mittelalter", IV, p. 335). And thence he proceeds to Sābūr, i.e. Shāpūr, the well-known ancient town in Fars, N. of Kāzīrūn. Therefore even if he really stayed in Northern Persia, in the mountains NE of Tehran, he, having been traced there, fled to Fars, perhaps really passing through Nihāwand, and Āzar, mentioned here.

Disguised as a merchant, the Imam stayed in Shāpūr with a certain Qamaṣ b. Nūḥ, whose daughter, Rabṭa, he married. Later he settles in a hamlet, placed at his disposal by his devout *dā'īs*, Hurmuz, and his son Mahdī.¹ The name of the village is not mentioned, and it is only said that it was situated in the district of "Farghāna". The Imam died here, and was buried. Later on, after al-Mu'izz bi'l-lāh (341-365/953-975) had settled in Cairo, which had been built under him, he exhumed the remains of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, and transferred them to Egypt. Unfortunately, Sayyid-nā Idrīs does not mention the date of the event.

The "Farghāna" in which the Imam lived has obviously nothing to do with the well-known province in Central Asia, and must be sought somewhere in Southern Persia. It is obviously the result of a misreading, but it is not easy to reconstruct the original. There is no district or village of this name in Southern Persia, and the nearest name is Fārighān, which belongs to an arid district North of Bandari 'Abbāsī (Fūrghūn, the name of a peak, in the Survey of India 16 miles-to-an-inch maps of Persia). Perhaps Burjān or Baranjān, a village near Ahwāz (Schwarz, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 386) may also be an original form; Ahwāz, as is known, is closely connected with the history of the Ismaili movement.

All this is very obscure, and it would be difficult to insist on the theory of the Imam hiding in Southern Persia without additional references further on to the same Nihāwand, Kāzīrūn, etc. Daylam is also referred to further on, but with implied meaning of its being situated far away from the scene of these events.

The Imam has appointed as his successor his eldest son born in Persia, 'Abdu'l-lāh. No date of the event, or age of the successor at the moment are given. The new Imam, who later on received the surname ar-Raḍī, and is the first of the three "concealed" Imams (*al-A'immatu'l-mastūrūn*), inaugurates the period of *satr*, or occultation, which lasted over a hundred years until the proclamation of al-Mahdī as a caliph in Raqqāda, in 297/909.

Sayyid-nā Idrīs, as one may easily notice, apparently had several sources at his disposal; in certain details they are overlapping each other, introducing incidental contradictions. He continues the story:

"Imam ar-Raḍī 'Abdu'l-lāh returned (from his village in the "Farghāna" district where his father died) to Nihāwand; here he married a daughter of Hamdān, a son of the uncle of Maṣṣūr b.

¹ About him more is said at the end of this paper.



Jawshan, a resident of Kāzirūn. By this wife the Imām had a son, 'Alī, surnamed al-Layth, and a daughter, Fāṭima. His brothers also married there, and had children.

By this time the Abbasids have started another campaign of energetic search for the leaders of this line of the Imams, carrying their search with great energy. Then he appointed as his lieutenant his son (who, as we have seen, was just born to him,—probably in reality one of his brothers, as we may see further on)¹; and he himself disappeared, so that none of his followers knew where he was.

His *dā'īs*, dignitaries, and heads of the community remained faithful to him, strictly following the doctrine of his religion, and of the religion of his holy ancestors, never deviating from its prescriptions, in any way. But one of his *dā'īs*, Aḥmad b. al-Kayyāl, who was well versed in esoteric doctrines (*kalimāt 'ilmiyya*), having learnt these from the Imām, confounded these, and became insane. He ceased to believe in the Creator of the world, and concocted theories which contradicted the principles and practice, spirit and letter of the religion of the Imams. Thus he erred just as erred those who were before him, and went astray as did Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb and Mughīra in the days of Imām Ja'far, and Muḥammad al-Bāqir.² He founded a sect called after him *Kayyāliyya*.

When the Imām was informed about his treachery, his act of hostility, his having falsified the religion and created confusion in the community, he excommunicated and cursed him, ordering his followers to separate from him, and oppose him. When Ibn al-Kayyāl found that the Imām had excommunicated him, ordering his followers to boycott him, he proclaimed himself first an Imām, and later on the (promised) Qā'im, the Messiah, "who will fill the earth with justice", adding more of different heretical ideas and falsehoods. He ultimately was killed by his own followers who depended on him, when they understood his impiety and his plot to spread trouble in the world"³ . . .

¹ Apparently the same 'Alī al-Layth is referred to further on, and appears to be his brother, not his son.

² Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb (Muḥammad b. Abī Zaynab al-Asadī al-Kūfī, who was executed in 138/755, according to Kashī, p. 191, or in 145/762, according to Nuwayrī) was a prominent heresiarch, chiefly during the time of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, according to the tradition. The sect, founded by him, most probably was of an eclectic composition; the Kaysānite elements dominated,—the deification of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (a son of 'Alī) and of his descendants. Apparently its dogmas were very vague, and the human material, stirred up by this doctrine, later on has swollen the ranks of different other sects, especially of the Ismailis. Mughīra b. Sa'īd al-'Ijlī, murdered in 119/737, was the founder of a sect which deified a line of the Ḥasanid Alids, especially of Muḥammad *Dhū'n-naḥsī'z-zakiyya*, a descendant of Ḥasan b. 'Alī.

³ According to L. Massignon's note in his "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate" (E. G. Browne's memorial volume, p. 331), Aḥmad ibn al-Kayyāl al-Khasībī died ca. 270/883-4; this date is obviously too late,—something like 207/822 should be nearer to the truth. References to him seem to be



“While all this was going with Ibn al-Kayyāl, and his affairs assumed more and more disturbing dimensions, the Imam became afraid that he, the heretic, or his adherents might betray him to the Abbasids, revealing to them his secret residence. He then took special precautions, increasing different measures, and left for Daylam, accompanied by 32 trusted *dā'īs*, preaching obedience to God, and allegiance to the Imam. He lived there in the town called Ashnāsh,¹ near Daylam, where he married an Alid lady, and had a son by her, whom he named Aḥmad, bringing him up in piety and purity, conversant with high religious knowledge. He prepared him for taking over his duties after him, and entrusted him with the sacred trust of his high office. The preaching in favour of Imam 'Abdu'l-lāh was spreading (successfully); the *dā'īs* carried it on energetically, and the number of his followers was increasing everywhere, although none of them knew (properly) his name, except for the trusted *dā'īs*, sincerely devoted to him.”

Here follows the story of the strange plans of al-Ma'mūn to abdicate in favour of 'Alī ibn Mūsā ar-Riḍā, and the sudden death of the latter (in 203/818);—with all this we are not concerned here.

“Then Imam 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Muḥammad sent his *dā'īs* everywhere, and ordered his followers to obey to his brother, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, saying: who obeys him, obeys myself, and who disobeys him, disobeys me. He thus appointed his brother instead of himself, and left, accompanied by 32 of the most devout *dā'īs*, for Daylam, preaching amongst the people, and making them to know the Imam. As mentioned above, the Imam came to Shālūs.²

(His brother) al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad with a party, disguised as merchants, went on pilgrimage to Mekka. They arrived in Sāmarrā, and the *dā'īs* and other dignitaries, who accompanied him, spread everywhere for preaching in favour of Imam 'Abdu'l-lāh. Then al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad returned to Ahwāz, still disguised as a merchant.

A certain *dā'ī* started preaching in favour of al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, stating that Imam 'Abdu'l-lāh appointed him instead of himself, so that he was the real Imam. When al-Ḥusayn heard

rare, and the only detailed account is given by Shahrastānī; Ibn an-Nadīm mentions one of his works in his *Fihrist*,—it was refuted by ar-Rāzī.

¹ A few lines further on apparently the same place is called Shālūs. The only name coming near Ashnāsh in the Caspian provinces is at present Ashtās, a hamlet in the hills of Shāhkūh and Sāwar, in Māzandarān. Cf. H. L. Rabino, “Mazandaran and Astrabad” (Gibb Memorial Series, VII, 1928, p. 126). It is very doubtful, however, whether in a locality such as this names of hamlets can remain unaltered for a thousand years. Shālūs, really Chālūs, is the name of an ancient town in Mazandaran. Perhaps,—if the whole story is not a fantasy,—Ashnāsh, mentioned here, was a suburb of Chālūs.

² This obviously is derived from a different source; Sayyid-nā Idrīs apparently copied it without much editing.



about this, he went to the place where the *dā'ī* resided, collected the initiated (*mustajībūn*) and other people, and said that he was not the Imam, but a lieutenant of his brother, his servant and slave. He exposed the erring *dā'īs* and their false preaching. When the people heard this, their allegiance to Imam 'Abdu'l-lāh increased, although no one knew his whereabouts except for the few privileged to know this amongst the *dā'īs*.

'Alī, surnamed al-Layth, the son¹ of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il commanded general allegiance of the people of the province, on account of his being related to their (former) "king", Maṣṣūr b. Jawshan. He raised a force of about two thousand men, foot and horse; himself being a brave man, generous, and very fond of sport, he was once surrounded while hunting by an Abbasid force sent from Ray. He had with him only a few men, but, nevertheless, he fought valiantly until an arrow struck him in his throat. He fell from his horse, was captured, and his head was sent to Ray.

When the news about the murder of 'Alī al-Layth reached his brother (*sic*) al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, who was busy with his correspondence and the affairs of the religion, he was very much frightened and decided to emigrate to his brother, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il who was living in Khwārizm. He was, however, together with his associates, ambushed by his religious adversaries; all, including their families, were slaughtered, thrown in a grave, which was filled (without outward signs), their heads were cut off, their baggage and horses taken as a loot. None of his relatives remained in the hills of Nihāwand except for Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Layth b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il. When his father was killed, his nurse concealed him, and saved from the enemies. He found a refuge in the village called Mahdī-kad-gāh² . . . "With him there were those of his relatives from amongst the sons of his uncle al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il who were saved. When Aḥmad b. al-Layth grew up, he gathered around him those of the Shi'ites who were supporting him. He was learned and highly talented, was teaching them religion, and explaining them what happened with the descendants of the Prophet. Four thousand men collected around him from K-lāb³ and its neighbourhood, with their families and dependents. He camped with them near Shaliba,⁴ and invited the people to whom he promised to read a letter received from the government. When they came, he, with

¹ The confusion between 'Alī the son and 'Alī the brother of the Imam is obviously caused by the fact of both possessing the surname of al-Layth, which apparently was in fashion at the period. Most probably here really the brother, and not the son is intended.

² Perhaps this is the same as the well-known Ḥiṣn Mahdī, in Khūzistān (cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 329).

³ No name resembling this can be suggested in Jibāl or Khūzistān. But if the events took place in Northern Persia, the name of Kalār is possible.

⁴ This obviously is to be read Shalanba, mentioned above, see p. 62; it was situated near Damāwand.



his supporters, slaughtered them all. It is said that they were the people who killed al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad; about six thousand were slaughtered. After this Aḥmad b. al-Layth returned to the *rustāq* Abal,¹ to Maḥdī-kad-gāh.”

“When Imam ‘Abdu’l-lāh b. Muḥammad heard what happened with his brothers and son, he, with his son Aḥmad, left Ahwāz,² and went to Sāmarrā, where he stayed for some time. He wrote to his *dā’īs*, informing them about his being all right, and then departed for Syria, being disguised as a merchant, and settled in Salamiyya,” coming in contact with the local notables—Hashimites (as all this is narrated in detail in the *Istitāru’l-Imām* from where the information is apparently taken).³

“Amongst his *dā’īs*, who remained famous, were Hurmuz with his son Maḥdī, and Sarḥāf (?) b. Rustam with his son ‘Imrān. In the hands of Maḥdī b. Hurmuz five thousand *dīnārs* in gold became collected from the religious tax levied on the faithful. He took these with himself, and started for searching the Imam.⁴ He purchased scents, and concealed his money under these. He was selling scents while making inquiries about the Imam . . . , until he reached Salamiyya . . . , found the Imam . . . , was recognized by one of the Imam’s servants, and admitted in his presence . . . He then returned to his mother country, continuing the propaganda in the favour of the Imam.” “Imam ‘Abdu’l-lāh remained for the rest of his life in Salamiyya, appointing as his successor his son Aḥmad b. ‘Abdi’l-lāh, in a declaration, which he circulated to all his *dā’īs*. He died in Salamiyya, and was buried there.”

¹ This may be a misreading for Āsak (cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 343), an important village in the district of Rāmhurmūz in Khūzistān. Between this and Ḥiṣn-Maḥdī there were six stages. Thus both could not belong to one and the same *rustāq*. And it is absurd to think that one would go from the town of Nihāwand to Ḥiṣn-Maḥdī, near Muḥammara, *via* Rāmhurmūz. All these names are obviously mixed up and perverted beyond recognition.

² Just a page before it was stated that Imam ‘Abdu’l-lāh has settled in Chālūs, in Mazandaran. Most probably this is a citation from yet another source.

³ The *Istitāru’l-Imām*, by Sayyid-nā Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (or Muḥammad) an-Naysābūrī, dealing with the events which accompanied the departure of al-Maḥdī to the Maghrib, was probably composed towards the end of the fourth/tenth c. (Cf. W. Ivanow, “Guide to Ismaili Literature”, No. 112.) The original text is edited by me in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, the University of Cairo, Vol. IV, Part II, December, 1936 (published May, 1939), pp. 89–133. An English translation, with necessary comments, is being published by me in India.

⁴ The names of the *dā’īs*, who met in ‘Askar Mukram, and decided to go for searching for the Imam, as given in the *Istitār*, are: Abū Ghafīr, Abū Salama, Abū’l-Ḥasan Ibn at-Tirmidhī, Jayyād (or Jayyāda) al-Khash‘amī, Aḥmad Ibn al-Mawṣilī, and Abū Muḥammad al-Kūfī,—six names, although it is said: “they were seven”. The name of Maḥdī b. Hurmuz is not mentioned at all. The honour of finding the Imam is ascribed to Abū Ghafīr and Jayyād (b.) al-Khash‘amī. Perhaps Abū Ghafīr is the *kunya* of Maḥdī b. Hurmuz,—there is nothing impossible in such supposition.



III. THE SECTARIAN TRADITION ANALYSED.

The genuine sectarian tradition about the origin of Ismailism, as given above, obviously contains many elements of legend, retouching, retrospective projections, and influence of later beliefs and philosophical theories. With all this, nevertheless, it undoubtedly contains certain grains of truth; and it is worth while to try to separate them from legend or pure fiction. Modern researches so far have not brought a solution of the difficult problem, but at the same time they, nevertheless, have already rendered untenable various romantic versions of the origin of the sect which in many circles were officially recognized as true. It is no longer possible to speak seriously about the invention of the doctrine of Ismailism by a Persian revolutionary, who plotted to destroy Islam from within,—‘Abdu’l-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh, who maliciously aimed at upsetting the unity of the Muslims, and the purity of their faith, thus disabling them, and preparing the way for the alleged fantastic scheme of the domination of the Arabs by the Persians. All this, just as many and many similar stories, is also a legend, the projection of much later ideas upon events of the remote past. And ‘Abdu’l-lāh b. Maymūn (although a historical personage) is nothing in his legend but a personification of the collective efforts of the leaders of Shi‘ism who built the Ismaili branch of the school, spread over a long period. There is no longer any doubt that the “Ismailism” of the Ismaili movement, i.e. its connection with Ismā‘il b. Ja‘far and his descendants, was nothing but a kind of a “banner” of the movement, which sprang into being, and won for itself such enormous success, developing spontaneously, and being bound to manifest itself in history, under one name or another.

Every student of Ismailism may be presumed to be sufficiently acquainted with the outlines of what is known about the complex picture of the struggle of the sects in early Shi‘ism, which especially raged in places like Kufa and Basra, with their mixed population. In the absence of any systematic and orderly ideology, and due to the low level of the education in these fanatical groups of devotees, all sorts of most extraordinary superstitious ideas influenced their thought. Their temper demanded strong and “colourful” religious acts; and the expectations of the “end of the world”, which was promised to take place very soon, made them impatient in their tactics. As mentioned above, the strict legitimism of the supporters of different Alid dynasties of Imams was not yet sufficiently developed. Every genuine Alid, if he was clever and capable enough, and could inspire confidence as to his ultimate success, had in the eyes of the Shi‘ite-minded masses as much chance as any other candidate. The history of the numerous risings gives any number of instances in which support on a large scale was accorded to the descendants of the Ḥasanid line, and even of the branch of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya; these were particularly popular, and the Khattābiyya sect, which centred round them, was



very powerful in the beginning. There were apparently no "greater" or "smaller" lines, "orthodox" or "un-orthodox" in the eyes of the masses, but only more or less prominent individuals amongst the candidates. Quite naturally, a person like Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, an outstanding theologian of his time, an aristocrate related to the ruling family, etc., exercised a greater appeal than that of a poor and little known Alid of no special talent.

The only reliable fact about 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh, the supposed founder of Ismailism, is that both he and his father were eminent Shi'ite theologians with somewhat extremist tendencies, obviously indicating their connection with the less moderate sections of the community.¹ Their extremist tendencies, however, were not so strong as to make them unacceptable to the most moderate Shi'ites.² Maymūn al-Qaddāh, whom some early authors, as 'Abdu'l-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (429/1038),³ regard as the real "founder" of Ismailism, instead of his son, was a disciple of the eminent heretic Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb, the founder of the sect of the Khaṭṭābiyya, who was executed ca. 138/755.⁴ The tenets of this sect, originally based on the deification of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, a son of 'Alī by his Ḥanafite wife (not Fāṭima), are very obscure, and apparently were subject to numerous and thorough-going modifications, reforms, etc. We have not the slightest possibility of judging as to whether Maymūn al-Qaddāh remained faithful to these beliefs, or, as it often happened at that early time, he could entirely change his persuasion.⁵ Still less ground there is for believing that he transferred his early ideas to his son, 'Abdu'l-lāh, and that the latter incorporated them in the Ismaili doctrine. What seems to be nearer to the facts is that all these people in a different degree participated in that collective work which, in the form of the struggle for religious ideals, was going on for a long time in Shi'ite circles, and which ultimately led to the origin of the principal Shi'ite sects, Ismailism and Ithna-'asharism, and possibly to a large extent influenced the origin

¹ According to the information of Prof. Massignon, in his "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate", p. 330, Abū Shākir Maymūn b. al-Aswad al-Makhzūmī al-Makkī died ca. 180/796. His son, 'Abdu'l-lāh, according to Jawbarī, died in a prison in Kūfa ca. 210/825. These isolated indications seem to be, however, doubtful. Cf. also B. Lewis, "The Origins of Ismailism", pp. 54-67, where different references to him are summed up. These dates are not quite compatible with the tradition. If Maymūn al-Qaddāh really was a pupil of Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 113/731), obviously being at least 20 years old at the time of the Imam's death, he died in a very advanced age. The same still more applies to his son. If he was something like thirty years old at the moment of the death of Imam Ja'far, in 146/763, he had to be also nearly a centenarian in 210/825.

² He is mentioned as an authority by Tūsi, Najāshī, Hillī, and others.

³ Cf. *al-Farq bayna'l-firaq*, p. 277.

⁴ About the sect and its founder cf. above, p. 64, note 2.

⁵ Such changes, as is known, were quite common amongst eminent Shi'ites, judging from the history of early sects; in Ismailism many outstanding men started their life as members of other sects. Cf. above, p. 52.



of a neutral mystic and pietistic movement of Sufism. Imam Ja'far, the central figure in this movement, apparently contributed very considerably to the foundation of Ismailism, as possibly did many other devout Shi'ites. Looking strictly to reliable records, there is no reason to single out 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn as the founder of the doctrine of the sect.

It is a well-known fact that early Shi'ism was generally inclined towards hero-worship. In addition to the Imams there was a considerable number of early Shi'ite saints (some of whom also figure in the "pre-history" of Sufism), whose memory was not only much revered, but had become the basis for the most extraordinary beliefs. All these semi-legendary worthies, such as Kumayl ibn Ziyād, Miqdād, Jābir ibn 'Abdi'l-lāh al-Anṣārī, etc., in the ideas of some gnostic sects have become Divine beings of cosmic importance, Demiourgs, helpers in the creation of the world, etc. It is therefore quite incredible that such an important hero as 'Abdu'l-lāh ibn Maymūn, the supposed founder of the sect, should leave no trace whatever in the tradition of the sect. It is only late and obviously quite unreliable esoteric works, products of pure fiction, deliberately keeping aloof from facts, that refer to him; but even they do this very rarely. Surely, this was not without a sound reason, which can be only one,—that Maymūn and his son, although perhaps in a way connected with the early Ismailism, never played any prominent part in it.

Dr. B. Lewis, in his work "The Origins of Ismā'ilism" (London, 1940), has collected much interesting information intended to prove his thesis, of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn really being the founder of Ismailism. But his information in reality leads to quite different ideas. Many early important authorities, such as Tabarī, 'Arīb b. Sa'd, Thābit b. Sinān (d. 365/974), Nawbakhtī (d. ca. 310/922), etc., *do not mention* 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn. Similarly, the official Abbasid anti-Fatimid proclamation of 402/1011 equally does not mention him, although it is a fact that the name of Ibn al-Qaddāh was already familiar to many in the middle of the III/IXth c., and was mentioned in connection with the Ismailis.¹ His name appears, however, in all works directly or indirectly based on the treatise of Ibn Razzām (or Rizām), which itself is, unfortunately, lost. Ibn Razzām, apparently closely connected with Shi'ism, was living in the beginning of the iv/x c., when Ismaili tradition, literature, etc., had been sufficiently developed. It would be therefore permissible to suggest that the fact of Ibn al-Qaddāh's being the founder of the sect was simply Ibn Razzām's own conjecture: 'Abdu'l-lāh was the most prominent theologian of his time amongst the Shi'ites, was in some way connected with the circles from which Ismailism sprang; it was therefore very likely that the idea occurred to Ibn Razzām that no one except for this 'Abdu'l-lāh

¹ Cf. de Goeje's "Mémoire", p. 16, referring to al-Kindī, who wrote ca. 255/869, and who already mentions 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn,



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b. Maymūn could have been the founder of the heretical sect. We do not know what was really said on this subject in the original work; but it is quite possible that in the course of repeated quotations, references, etc., what was originally a hypothesis and a suggestion could have become a positive fact, gradually embellished, developed, etc., by others. Later on this erroneous idea (just as many other similar errors in the history of Ismailism) has become an "unshakeable fact", "well attested", generally accepted, and therefore "historical". We shall see further on some additional circumstances which so far apparently have escaped the attention of students.

B. Lewis also supports the ideas about the same Ibn Qaddāh being the real progenitor of the Fatimid caliphs, in accordance with the same generally accepted beliefs. Amongst other arguments he refers to the theories about the mystic speculations concerning the spiritual parentage, between the teacher and the pupil, as being more important than the ties of the natural parentage.¹ It is suggested that on some occasions, as on that of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn, his spiritual "descent" from the Imams could become an equivalent of his being the real son of the Imam with whom he was associated. Much later a legend, or somebody's genuine guess, made him an adopted son of Imam Ismā'il.² All this, however, seems to be utterly incredible: mystic filiation is one thing, and natural descent is quite a different matter, especially in Arab circles, with their pre-disposition to genealogical records.

The belief in all sorts of duping and swindle as the basic method in the work of different unorthodox movements and societies is common everywhere; and, surely, it was exploited to the full by the enemies of the Ismailis. But all this seems to be incredible: for the Alid candidates to the Imamatus their genuine descent from 'Alī was all their capital,—religious, political, and psychological. And although during these early periods the person of the Imam did not matter much for the followers, it is impossible to believe that they could ever permit themselves to be duped in respect of the genuineness of the Alid descent of the candidate. It is necessary not to forget that for the primitive people, with their child-like straightforwardness, there are no questions which cannot be asked, and no ways to ascertain what they want to know that are no good for the purpose. In the existence of a small secret community in the patriarchal conditions of the time, closely drawn together by

¹ These theories are not quite strange to Ismaili literature; an apparently very early work, *Kitābu'l-'ālim wa'l-ghulām*, discusses similar matters at length. But all this is obviously meant as a religious ideal, not an ordinary rule for daily life.

² This legend is apparently found in late Persian sources, such as Juwaynī (the third part of the *Ta'rikhi Jahān-Gushāy*) and the *Jāmi'u't-tawārikh* of Rashīdu'd-dīn (largely based on the preceding). Such legends, found in the works composed some four hundred years after the event, and not supported by earlier sources, are obviously quite unreliable, belonging as they do to folklore, and not history.

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the common danger and fanatical faith, most probably every one would know what is cooked in his neighbour's house for dinner, not to speak about the more serious matters. It is obvious that we cannot hope to find any reliable records of such intimate and delicate matters as the question of the genuineness of the descent of this or that person in that remote period. But on the whole the principal consideration, in addition to the great risk and difficulties of such impersonation, would be its uselessness. There was no scarcity of the most genuine Alids, eligible for the high position. And if 'Abdu'l-lāh b. al-Qaddāh was really what he appears to be in the fairy-tale stories of different historians, he surely could find any number of candidates for the post of puppet head of the sect of which he could remain a complete master, having insured himself against any risks.

Different questions arise about the genuineness of the genealogy of the Fatimids: the Abbasids had to admit the Alid descent of many Shi'ite leaders in revolt against them, but they consistently denied the Alid descent to the Fatimids.¹ This is easy to answer: the pedigrees of many insurgent Alids were well-known, and it was impossible to reject them. But the case of the Fatimids was quite different. They were not living under the Abbasid supervision as their rivals, the Imams of the Twelver branch did; and, judging from the results achieved by them, their concealment was not the same thing as lethargy. Most probably it was just the reverse of this, and their intense underground activities were surely known to the Abbasids. Therefore there may be no doubt that the tradition about their living in strict concealment is quite true. Under circumstances such as these, how could they be in touch with other branches of their house, and how could the births of their children be entered into the genealogical records kept in Baghdad?

The other question is why they never made an official declaration of their genealogy? ² It is very difficult to answer this question, but certain reasons may be easily suggested: the knowledge of the sequence of the Imams always constituted a part of the religious education of the sectarians, and every one of them had to know the genealogy of the dynasty; these people did not need any special proclamation. And the latter would scarcely matter in the eyes of their enemies, because nothing could be proved by documents: there were no birth certificates at that time, and it would not be wise to give too many clues to enemies in order not to expose the followers of the Imams residing in different parts of the Muslim world.

The bewildering variety of variants in the genealogy of the Fatimids, and an astounding number of the names of the three concealed Imams, as mentioned in many histories, is due not only to different guesses and advanced theories, which had nothing

¹ Cf. de Goeje, "Mémoire", p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.



to do with history, but also to some special circumstances which so far have not been sufficiently appreciated. The difference in the names under which the concealed Imams were known in different provinces already attracted the attention of the sectarians themselves almost a thousand years ago. This fact was due to the great secrecy about the name and the whereabouts of every Imam, who was known to his followers only under a "code name", such as ar-Raḍī, or al-Wafī, or at-Taḳī, or some special surname, epithet, etc., whose implications were intelligible only to the initiated. On the other hand there was a peculiar institution which would also add to the confusion. It was the practice of appointing the *ḥijāb* to the Imam as the religious head of the community. Apparently the earlier *ḥijāb* was the same as the later *ḥujjat* during the period of the *zuhūr*, or possession of the secular authority by the Imams—the Fatimids. The *ḥijāb*, or "veil", was the most devoted, tested, trusted and reliable dignitary who was ostensibly entrusted with supreme religious authority, posing as an Imam to the ordinary members of the sect.¹ It is quite possible that the fact of his being the *ḥijāb* was known to the trusted followers, and he accepted their oath of allegiance on behalf of the mysterious and concealed Imam. As the latter was to the majority of his followers a sort of abstraction rather than a living person, it is quite possible that the names of some *ḥijābs* in different provinces, or districts, have become mixed up with the names of the Imams. Thus even to this day there are discrepancies between the names of the Imams of the period of *satr* in the different branches of the Ismailis. The usual Fatimid tradition gives their names, after Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, as 'Abdu'l-lāh, Aḥmad, and Ḥusayn.² Esoteric works have their

¹ The idea of the *ḥijāb* must be clearly distinguished from that of the *mustawda'* Imam. The latter is the "regent" at the time of the minority of the real Imam, while the *ḥijāb* merely is an ordinary dignitary, a subordinate to the Imam. The *mustawda'* Imam can appoint any number of *ḥijābs*, but not *vice versa*. There are stories, in the *'Uyūnu'l-akḥbār*, and elsewhere, about an Ismaili dignitary participating in the learned theological contest at the court of al-Ma'mūn; when al-Ma'mūn brings pressure on him compelling him to point to him the Imam, the dignitary confesses himself as the Imam, and is executed. This is one of the applications of the protective practice. The theory apparently fell in disuse with the rise of the Fatimid power: the Imams were safe at the head of a powerful state. Therefore there was no more need to get the persecutors off the track.

² These names apparently belong to the Fatimid tradition; they are found in the earliest sources. That the earliest Ismailis accepted that the name of the son and successor of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il was 'Abdu'l-lāh is perfectly clear from Ṭabari, III, 2218. The second hidden Imam, the author of the Encyclopaedia of the *Iḥwānu's-safā* (*Ṣāḥibu'r-rasā'il*, as he is usually referred to in the Ismaili theological works) is also known definitely as Aḥmad. There are some discrepancies as to the name of the third, the father of al-Mahdī; I hope to deal with this matter elsewhere. It is surprising therefore to find that in an esoteric work, belonging to the same school, the *Ghāyatu'l-mawālīd* by Sayyid-nā al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 533/1138), the names are given as: Aḥmad, Ḥusayn, and 'Alī (cf. B. Lewis, "Origins", pp. 52 and 109. In a copy in my possession the text of this passage differs very much:



own versions, most probably quite fantastic, based on the numerical, mystical and other values of letters, etc. The introduction of special names, or using special "code" names in esoteric speculations is common; and their appearance renders very doubtful the historical value of these statements.

It is obviously impossible to trace anything for certain in this state of confusion. And it is well known that it really created many misunderstandings, not only in contact with the outer world, but also within the sect itself. In the fifth volume of his *'Uyūnu'l-akhbār* Sayyid-nā Idrīs quotes a *sijill*, or epistle of al-Mu'izz bi'l-lāh (341-365/953-975), addressed to the chief *dā'i* in Sind, Ḥalīm b. Shaybān :

"Said (Imām Ja'far) aṣ-Ṣādiq: faith (in God) and (His) worship is the assertion of our rights, belief in our Imamāt, expectation of the Qā'im from amongst us, and patient waiting until the Will of God is fulfilled.

With regard to what thou hast mentioned about the fantasies and the confusion created by different people, referred to in thy list of questions, (thou must know that): the idea that there were seven Imams (*khulafā'*), and that their number has become complete with the seventh of them,—is *tawqūt*, i.e. (arbitrary) limiting of the time, as explained just above. These people have arbitrarily limited (the period of Imamāt) by (the death of) Muḥammad b. Ismā'il; and when he died, they said about him all what was said by them.¹ They (also) thought that he entrusted the Imamāt to some one who was not his son.² And that his successor (similarly) entrusted the Imamāt (to his own) successors, whose number has (also) reached the number of seven.³ They thought that the first (of these pseudo-Imams) was 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh. All this is preached in order to prove their theory that there was no Imam after him (i.e. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il), and that those who

Qaddāh's name is not mentioned, and the name of 'Abdu'l-lāh appears, as usual, between Aḥmad and Muḥammad b. Ismā'il). The Persian tradition gives Aḥmād, Muḥammad, and again Muḥammad (*Kalāmi Pīr*, p. 43); the present Indian Nizārī tradition has Aḥmad, Muḥammad, and 'Abdu'l-lāh. There are also over two hundred different genealogies, giving the names of from two to seven of different Imams. The latest work dealing with these genealogies is Prince P. Mamour's "Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs" (London, 1934); some more versions may be added.

¹ This plainly refers to the group of the followers who regarded Muḥammad b. Ismā'il as the last Imam, etc., as explained above, and emphasizes the rejection of such beliefs by the official Fatimid doctrine. And it is very interesting to compare this statement, attributed to al-Mu'izz, with what he says in the esoteric prayer, also attributed to him, in which he calls the same Muḥammad b. Ismā'il "the last Nāṭiq, the initiator of a new *shar'i'a*", etc. Cf. p. 80, note 1.

² This refers to the theories of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn being appointed the Imam, as is clear from the next lines.

³ Being the fourth Fatimid caliph, al-Mu'izz was the seventh Imam after Muḥammad b. Ismā'il. Thus this formally rejects the theory of the Fatimids descending from 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn.

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succeeded him were ordinary people.¹ Thus they have cut what God ordered to be continuing (i.e. the line of the Imams), opposing the command of God, given in the Coran (XLIII, 27): "... and We have made a word to remain after him".

The cause of this requires explanation. When the preaching in favour of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il has spread, the Abbasid usurpers tried to lay their hands upon him, i.e. the person whose rights were claimed. Therefore (he and other) Imams went into concealment. Their *dā'īs* used to refer to them under allegorical names, in accordance with the principle of *taqiyya*, or precautionary dissimulation, alluding to what they possessed and what was appropriate to them. They used to say, for instance, that the Imam, the son of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, was 'Abdu'l-lāh. And this was true. And with regard to his being the son of Maymūn al-Qaddāh, it was true that he was the son of the *Maymūnu'n-naqībat*, i.e. of the "Divinely blessed with success in his affairs", of al-Qaddāh (the flint)² "striking the sparks of guidance", i.e. "lighting the light of the Divine wisdom". Similar allegorical expressions were applied also to other Imams after him, at their own orders and instructions given to their *dā'īs*.

When such allegorical expressions reached those who knew nothing about their real implications, and only took them literally, as we mentioned above, they fell into an error, and made others err after them, straying from the straight path. But if they would only do what God has ordered them to do, rallying around the Imams, they surely would know those who were otherwise hidden from them, just as thou knowest them now. But the blind, who has no one to lead him, or a stick in his hand, falls into an abyss from which no one can save him. The self-conceited fall into sin and error. So beware of thinking that God ever abandons humanity to itself. No, He does not abandon them even for a moment, leaving them without an Imam from the descendants of the Prophets. And the Imams can come to their office only by the commandments relating to Imamat.... This is what al-Mu'izz li-dīni'l-lāh says in his epistle. This epistle is lengthy, well-known, containing (references to) many branches of the knowledge of religion, and instructive principles".³

¹ This is apparently directed not only against the accusations of the Fatimids of being impostors, but also against the Qarmatian-like beliefs about the discontinuation of Imamat.

² *Qaddāh* means not only "oculist", but also "flint".

³ *'Uyūnu'l-akhbār*, Vol. V, in the middle :

ذكر ذلك الامام المعز لدين الله سلام الله عليه في سجنه الى داعيه في السند حليم بن
شيبان قدس الله روحه ، فقال سلام الله عليه في ذلك السجل قال الصادق عليه السلام الايمان
و العبادة التصديق بأمرنا و اعتقاد امامتنا و انتظار قائمنا و الصبر على ذلك حتى يأتي



This defence of the Fatimid traditional version, if the quotation is genuine, is really significant. With the wealth and means of compulsion at their disposal the Fatimids could easily arrange that the most unimpeachable genealogy would be prepared for them by the best specialists, in case they really felt the weakness of their own version. And if, with all this, they nevertheless stuck to it, and insisted on defending it, this was probably a sign of its being not so hopelessly false as their enemies strived to make it in the eyes of the public.

It may be noted, as a psychological feature of Ismailism, that the sectarians, as they are now, usually attach much more importance to the *number* of the Imams rather than the names or correct

امر الله، و ما ذكرته من تهويس القوم و تخاليطهم مما ذكرته في مسائلك من ذكر الخلفاء السبعة و أن النهاية في السابع منهم و هذا التوقيت مثل ما قدما ذكره و ذلك أنهم لما وقتوا في محمد بن اسماعيل ما وقتوه و مات و قالوا عنه ما قالوا زعموا أنه استخلف خليفة من غير ولده، و استخلف الخليفة بعده الى أنه بلغوا سبعة، زعموا أن أولهم عبد الله بن ميمون القداح، و كل ذلك ليثبتوا قولهم الذي يقولون به أنت لا امام بعده و أنت الذي استخلفهم هم من عرض الناس، فقطعوا ما أمر الله به أن يوصل و خالفوا قوله تعالى اذ يقول - و جعلنا كلمة باقية في عقبه، و كان لذلك سبب ارجب ذكره و ذلك أنه لما فشت دعوة محمد بن اسماعيل عليهما السلام طلب المتغلبون من بني العباس من يشار اليه بالامر، فاستترت الاثمة و كفى الدعاة عن اسمائهم تقية عليهم بما هو لهم و يليق فيهم فقالوا الامام من ولد الامام محمد بن اسماعيل عبد الله، و هو عبد الله كما قالوا، و ابن ميمون القداح و هو كما قالوا ابن ميمون النقيبة، القادح زناد الهداية، المورى نور الحكمة، و جرت الكناية على من بعده من الاثمة بأمرهم و ما رسموا لدعاتهم، ثم سقط ذلك الى من لم يفهمه بعد الماضين فاحتل على ظاهره كما ذكرنا أولاً، فضل و أضل عن سواء السبيل و لو أنهم فعلوا ما أمرهم الله عز و جل به من الرد الى اوليائه لعلمه الذين يستنبطونه منهم كما علمت أنت الآن، لكن الاعمى اذا لم يكن له قائد و لا عصى تردى في هوة لا تخلص له منها، و من استكبر ضل و غوى، فأيك أن تقول او تعتقد ان الله قد اهل الخلق، و لا يهملهم طرفة العين من قيام امام من اعقاب الرسل، و الاثمة يقوم بأمر الامامة ... فهذا قول الممر لدين الله امير المؤمنين صلى الله عليه في جهله، و هو بجمل طويل معروف فيه فنون من العلم و الآداب،



sequence of each of them. It is difficult to find how the matters were standing in the past, but there is no doubt that the numbers of the Imams were the subject of many abstruse speculations, while their biographies and real circumstances of their lives apparently did not interest many, so that no authentic historical records have been preserved.

To sum up, it is a fact that Maymūn al-Qaddāh, and his son ‘Abdu’l-lāh, were in some way connected with the circles from which Ismailism sprang; but there are no proofs that both, or either of them were something like “founders” of Ismailism; on the contrary, this seems quite improbable. It is equally improbable that they were the progenitors of the Fatimids.

IV. RELATION BETWEEN THE ISMAILIS AND THE QARMATIANS.

Practically all early historians treat the Ismailis and the Qarmatians as members of one and the same sect. This point of view was on the whole also predominant amongst modern orientalist, who, just as Prof. L. Massignon, were of the opinion that the term “Qarmatians” was the only genuine and contemporary name for both the Qarmatians proper, and the Ismailis who were the followers of the Fatimid caliphs.¹ Sweeping and indiscriminate application of different terms, mostly applied in an abusive sense, has introduced enormous confusion in everything that is concerned with the history of Shi‘ite sects. Hope has always been cherished by students that the discovery of genuine sectarian literature might help to trace the real boundaries between these sects from within. This hope has now disappeared: it is a sad fact that Ismaili literature preserves no such information, at least in the form in which it could be utilized for research. There are possibly occasional references to different heretical currents in the works devoted to controversy and refutation of alleged impious doctrines. Unfortunately,—and most irritatingly,—all such would-be precious information remains sealed owing to the objectionable habit of the authors *never* to mention the names of the heretics or the sects whose doctrine they refute.² After having spent much time and labour on the study of such works, one never can be sure whether the author really meant the heretic, *māriq*, whose name suggests itself to the student.

It is a well-known fact that different accounts of the Bāṭinite doctrine of the “Qarmatians”, given by many authors, very often have little or nothing in common with the real theories found in the genuine Ismaili works. And although much error and misunderstanding is obviously due to the unskilled reconstruction of

¹ This is clearly expressed in the opening paragraph of his “Esquisse d’une Bibliographie Qarmate”, in E. G. Browne’s memorial volume, 1922.

² The most regrettable instance of such attitude is Qāḍī an-Nu‘mān’s work, *Ikhtilāf uṣūlī-l-madhāhib* (Guide, No. 79), which as it appears to be perfectly useless.



the doctrine from the conflicting references belonging to different local schools and to different periods of time, there are some items which are repeated with great persistence, and yet obviously do not belong to the Ismaili system. Such, for instance, is the well-known system of gradual initiation, or the doctrine about the seven Nātiqs, seven Imams, etc.¹ It seems obvious that the only acceptable explanation would be that although there was much in common between the doctrines of the real Ismailis and the Qarmatians, both these sects also had essential differences. From this it is a far cry to the Qarmatians being a sect of a perfectly different type, as recently suggested by B. Lewis.² Qarmatian theories, most probably, contained much material preserved from some local and original sectarian systems to which the religion of the people belonged before they have joined the Qarmatian community.³ But we must not forget that however hostile in their attitude, and unwilling to be impartial, or to make an attempt at the real understanding of the doctrine, the authors of the enemy camp, as already mentioned above, were not so hopelessly ignorant in the matter: they could occasionally peruse genuine sectarian books picked up with the loot in various persecution campaigns, or utilize the information communicated by the renegades, and so on. Confusion is inevitable in respect of the secret sects; but it never appears so hopeless as in the case of the Ismailis and Qarmatians, although the same authors clearly distinguish between the Ismailis and other Shi'ite groups. For all these reasons we know absolutely nothing about the religion of the Qarmatians of Bahrain, or the Abū-Sa'idīs, as they were called by their immediate neighbours.⁴ Only now and then it is possible to

¹ The latter doctrine, of "Seven Imams", appears so prominent that many historians, and still more many modern orientalists, have made the term "Seveners" a basic and generic appellation for the sect, while the latter in reality,—at least in its official doctrine,—decidedly rejects it.

² "The Origins of Ismā'ilism", pp. 76 sqq.

³ It is true that many early authors, beginning with Ṭabari (III, 2124 sqq.), Nawbakhti, and others, connect the Qarmatians with the Kaysanite Imams, the Khattābiyya, etc. It is equally probable that both the worship of the Imams of this sect was inherited by the Qarmatians, or that there were groups in the movement who formed transition stages between the two sects. But it does not seem to be quite logical to accept all such statements at their face value. We know in how complete a mess is the information of all these early authors about the Qarmatians and their religion. And if we see that many of their statements are definitely wrong, I do not see any reason why we should so unhesitatingly and unreservedly accept this particular information. As far as history is concerned, there appears to be *not a single* descendant of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya amongst the Qarmatian leaders. Surely, if such a name would be found in the annals, directly connected with the Qarmatians, the situation would be quite different. But as far as I know, there is no reference at all to any Imams connected with the Qarmatians proper, except in the speculations of different heresiologists whose hopeless lack of first hand knowledge makes this alleged fact also quite spurious.

⁴ According to the testimony of Nāṣiri Khusraw in his *Safar-nāma*. Cf. de Goeje's "Mémoire", p. 72.



come across an indirect hint, mostly of a negative character, as in the case of the absence of mention of any Imams in their history.

Apparently the only author who offers some information about the origin and the difference between the Qarmatians and the Ismailis is Nawbakhtī (d. in the beginning of the iv/xth c.). In all probability he was in close touch with Ismaili circles, because he shows signs of first hand acquaintance with Ismaili dogmatics; therefore he seems to be deserving of credence. He gives the name of al-Mubārakiyya to the followers of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il who regarded him as the legitimate successor of his father and his grandfather, Imam Ja'far, and were so named after Mubārak, a *mawlā* of Ismā'il b. Ja'far,—an obscure personage. From what Nawbakhtī says it appears that most probably after the death of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il they split into several sub-sects. One of these, organized by a certain Qarmaṭiyya, who also had much to do with the earlier Khattābiyya ideas, regarded Muḥammad b. Ismā'il as the promised Messiah, the Qā'im and the Mahdī of the Last Day, the final Apostle of God.¹

This would appear to be a precious bit of information which finds support in many allusions found in Ismaili tradition. It is a very well-known fact that in these early Shi'ite sects sentiment often ran high, and almost every eminent Alid, especially belonging to the "main" line of the Imams, rarely escaped the honour of being proclaimed by his fanatical supporters a semi-Divine being, immortal, the promised Mahdī, etc., whose death was only a temporary occultation after which, at a certain fixed date, he had to come back in all his glory. Such sects, of the *waqfiyya* type, were quite common; apparently their invariable fate was the same: after long expectations, sad disappointment and disillusionment, they had to give up their original beliefs, and find shelter in some new Shi'ite groups, attributing their failure to the error in their understanding of the infallible Divine signs and prophecies. It is not only probable, but seems a reliable fact that Muḥammad b. Ismā'il was particularly made the subject of such speculations in certain circles. The most decisive fact about him was that he was the *seventh* successor of 'Alī.² The mystic power of numbers, i.e. of the rhythm of the nature expressed by them, since the

¹ Nawbakhtī, p. 61.

² It is necessary to distinguish clearly between two different Shi'ite traditions: the tradition accepted by the Ismailis (and probably some other sects) regarded 'Alī as a saint of a higher rank than an ordinary Imam; he was the *Asās*, i.e. the *asāsul-Imāmat*, the "foundation of Imamāt". Contrary to this, the tradition of the Ithna-'asharis, and cognate sects, regarded all Imams as equal (this also, on esoteric grounds, was later on assumed in the reformed Persian Ismailism). Muḥammad b. Ismā'il was the seventh beginning with Ḥasan (followed by Ḥusayn, Zaynu'l-'ābidīn, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, and Ismā'il). But apparently there were some groups even within Ismailism itself who held different opinions, because one frequently meets in early records with the idea that Ismā'il was the seventh Imam.



times immemorial had an overwhelming influence upon the mind of all nations. Already more than two thousand years ago a great philosopher, and a philosophical school, the Pythagoreans, tried to find formulas for it. Such abstruse speculations, in the form of the science of *jafr*, etc., are very strongly connected with the memory of Imam Ja'far and his school. The fact that Muḥammad b. Ismā'il was the *seventh* Imam, and was therefore specially worshipped, left indelible traces on the history of the sect. Even in the esoteric doctrine of the Fatimid school of Ismailism there are striking traces of this early period, which apparently have remained as "fossilised" formations in the living tissues of the evolutionizing religion, just out of the tenacious conservatism common to all esoteric sects. In an esoteric prayer which is attributed to al-Mu'izz li-dīni'l-lāh himself (341-365/953-975), Muḥammad b. Ismā'il is referred to in the terms of "the Seventh Nātiq, the last and final Prophet of God, the *founder of a new shari'a*, the Qā'im of the Resurrection", etc.¹ The same ideas about him are found in the eleventh chapter of the *Zuhru'l-ma'ānī*, by Sayyid-nā Idrīs, dealing with the "historiosophy" of Ismailism. Other esoteric works also contain indications to the same effect. As one may see, such ideas appear to be quite meaningless in the Fatimid doctrine, at least in its *ẓāhir* branch, for the reason that not only did it accept 21 Imams who are actually known, but also admits the existence of the hidden Imams after aṭ-Ṭayyib who still remain in concealment till our own time. Apart from this, the Fatimid doctrine really does not recognize any other *shari'a* except that of Muḥammad the Prophet; the esoteric part of the doctrine is only an extension and supplement to it².

Reviewing the tradition about the earliest history of the sect as preserved in the '*Uyūnu'l-akhbār*, and summed up above, we may note certain very interesting indications. Taken without the inevitable religious retouch, the sequence of the events which followed the death of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il appears to be as follows: the group headed by him split into several parties, led by his different sons. From the strictly religious point of view of Sayyid-nā Idrīs it appears as if Imam 'Abdu'l-lāh continued to appoint one of his brothers after another as his "lieutenants". It

¹ The esoteric prayers, attributed to al-Mu'izz, are arranged according to the days of the week. They are to be recited in addition to the ordinary *namāz* prayers. Cf. above, p. 74, note 1.

² As is known, the Great *Qiyāmat*, or Resurrection, probably in consonance with these esoteric speculations, was announced in Alamūt by the Nizārī Imam, Ḥasan 'alā dhikri-hi's-salām, on the 17th Ramadān 559/8-viii-1164. So far no genuine records of the event are found, and it is not clear from the available materials whether Ḥasan was regarded as the founder of a new *shari'a*, or some one else. On the whole, however, it does not look as if the new system was properly devised and organized. Most probably it did not go beyond the replacement of the ordinary prayers with the esoteric, the physical fast with the "spiritual", etc., leaving all the fundamental principles of Islam intact.



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is quite possible that he, in the beginning having failed to secure a hold over the community, escaped, as it is reported, to the remote Ṭabaristān, and, later on, ultimately settled in Salamiyya, in Northern Syria. Meanwhile his brothers were either killed, as narrated, in the conflict with the Abbasids, or died; and their groups, left without an apparent head, the Imam, transferred their allegiance upon him. Such things happened not so rarely in the history of Ismailism. A deputation then was sent to him, recognizing him as their Imam. This apparently is the real meaning of the events narrated in the beginning of the *Istīṭāru'l-Imām*.¹

But in addition to these developments there was yet another circumstance of great importance. The usual mentality underlying the *waqfiyya* movements, mentioned above, had in this case especially favourable conditions in which to develop. And it is possible to see, quite in accordance with the laconic reference of Nawbakhtī, that such a movement really started. Sayyid-nā Idrīs attributes it to Aḥmad al-Kayyāl, or Ibn al-Kayyāl, who, as we have seen, proclaimed himself an Imam, etc. The information is doubtlessly derived from the same source from which it was also taken by Shahrastānī. It is impossible to find whether it was the work of Ibn Razzām, or even some Ismaili work which served him as his source. Both versions, of Shahrastānī and of Sayyid-nā Idrīs, differ only in the references to the Imam. It is difficult to decide in how far these references were introduced by Sayyid-nā Idrīs himself, while he simply derived his story from the well-known work of Shahrastānī, and not from earlier sources. The movement, apparently, was very serious, and although the terms in which it is referred to are rather vague, it is obvious that the author knew of its later disastrous developments. His rather obscure references in this connection to Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb and Mughīra also seem to be significant.

It seems that it would be not quite baseless if we regard this tradition as referring to the split between the Ismailis, i.e. later Fatimids, and the Qarmatians. If this is assumed, many things in the history of the Qarmatian movement find a very convincing explanation. The story tallies well with the information of Nawbakhtī, and satisfactorily explains why nothing is found in all historical references to the Qarmatians about the existence of the Imams amongst them: as Muḥammad b. Ismā'il was the ultimate Apostle of God, the Messiah, etc., the new *sharī'a* which he has given to the world was obviously *complete*, containing both

¹ The motives for the search after the Imam mentioned in the *Istīṭār* itself, are quite simple: the Imam left his community in company with some trusted men, but his devoted followers wanted to recover him. Religious tradition does not question the actions of these devotees from the point of view of discipline; contrary to this, it even mentions the Imam's reproaches for their having traced him against his will. Religious sentiment, certainly, does not always follow logic.



the ordinary and the hidden parts. It therefore no longer required the Imam, in the Shi'ite sense, whose chief function was to keep and to convey to the masses the un-revealed portion of the original Divine Revelation, received by Muḥammad the Prophet, and entrusted by him to 'Alī and his successors in order to disclose it gradually.

This hypothesis excellently explains that fierce anti-Islamic spirit which is manifest in all the terrible exploits of the Qarmatians. Their cruelty to Muslims of all schools, and their systematic perpetration of the most heinous sacrilegious acts, culminating in the desecration of the Ka'ba, and carrying away the sacred Black Stone, cannot be regarded as a simple manifestation of the ordinary Beduin predisposition to brigandry, and acts of hooliganism. This obviously was a direct outcome of their religious point of view. If we suppose that they regarded themselves as the followers of a new religion, revealed to supersede the now obsolete religion of Islam, then everything becomes clear. Their attitude could be regarded then as a parallel to the attitude of the early Islamic community towards the earlier religions of Christianity and Judaism. Although admitting their Divine origin,—or, perhaps, exactly on account of this admission,—they fiercely fought not against them, but against the non-recognition of what, according to their views, should be a legitimate continuation, crowning the earlier imperfect systems.

The story of their seizure of the Black Stone is the culmination of their struggle. As is well known, it was carried away with the terrible bloodshed which the Qarmatians staged within the holy limits of the great sanctuary of Islam itself, on the 8th Dhū'l-ḥijja 317/12-1-930. No amount of negotiations, offers of exorbitant sums of reward, etc., could induce them to return the stone. And it was a great surprise when in the month of Dhū'l-Qa'da (or Dhū'l-ḥijja) 339, i.e. April or May 951, the stone was returned by them, without any demand for compensation.

From the standpoint of the present hypothesis it is quite easy to suggest that the terrible slaughter of the pilgrims in the Ka'ba itself, and the seizure of the sacred relic were not acts of wanton cruelty, but were connected with some expectations of a religious character, such possibly as the "return" of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il in full glory, etc., which most probably was expected to be due about that time.¹ But when nothing special had happened, the sect, most probably, in the usual way, recognized some error

¹ Apart from the ordinary Messianistic expectations of which the Muslim world was full at that early period, references to the history of the Qarmatians are especially connected with some eagerly awaited dates. All sorts of astrological speculations are so numerous in these records that de Goeje, with his thoroughness and exuberant laboriousness, has even given in his "Mémoire" special tables for the dates of the positions of Jupiter and Saturn, etc. (cf. also pp. 113 sqq. and especially p. 123). It is not clear what these speculations were, and what exactly was expected to happen, but it is a fact that some important event was expected to take place very soon.



admitted by them in the calculations of the date for the great event, which was then postponed till a much later date. The fiery enthusiasm of the followers was considerably damped, and ultimately the "dynamism" of the sect "fizzed" out, and it was absorbed by other communities. Apparently the reactions to such internal crises would appear to outsiders as "conversion" of the Qarmatians.¹ It is quite probable that a certain current could come in existence in the sect favouring their *rapprochement* with the Fatimids who were at that time at the height of their power, which, as usual, might easily be taken by the masses as the proof of their truth, miraculously manifested by Divine help.

If this theory is true, then the difficult problem of the relations between the Qarmatians and the Fatimid caliphs is easily solved. Such acts as the well-known letter of al-Mahdī to Abū Ṭāhir, the leader of the Qarmatians, containing a protest against their sacrilege with carrying away the sacred stone,² obviously implied the admission of a certain connection, historical or religious, between the two sects. And also different hostile actions directed against the Fatimids, on the part of the Qarmatians were quite logical: for them the Fatimids were not Imams, even if being genuine descendants of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il. Most probably from their point of view the Ismailis were in the same position as other Muslims with regard to the new *sharī'a*. Perhaps, if we may venture to guess, the theory of the Fatimids descending from 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn, and not from Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, was spread and strengthened not without the connivance, or even definite sympathy, of those Qarmatian sub-currents which probably always existed in certain Ismaili circles. This is particularly manifest in the ideas of the Druzes, who generally show many leanings which, being non-Ismaili, most probably should be regarded as Qarmatian, especially in the details of the theory of Imamāt.

Returning again to the story of the split in the following of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, it is difficult to trace the connection of Aḥmad b. al-Kayyāl with the further history of the Qarmatians. Was he the same person as Qarmatūya mentioned by Nawbakhtī? Or perhaps, was he the same as Aḥmad, the son of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn, who is often mentioned in histories, and is supposed to be the "Imam", the son and successor of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. al-Qaddāh? This supposition is extremely tempting. The date of the death of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il most probably falls within the last quarter of the second/eighth c., when 'Abdu'l-lāh himself was already an old man. He could be the original promoter of the ideas, the founder of the doctrine, while his son really could take upon himself all the necessary actions.

There may also be yet another theory: as is already mentioned above,³ all Ismaili controversial works have the habit of never

¹ Cf. B. Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 89, etc.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 81.

³ See p. 77, and note 2.



mentioning by their real names the heresies and the heretics whom they refute. All heretics are uniformly called *māriq*, and their identity, most probably, was only disclosed orally. This was possible so long as the tradition was fresh; later on the Ismailis themselves were quite helpless to identify all the *māriqs*. If we suppose that Sayyid-nā Idrīs had at his disposal an early source in which the story of the split was narrated in the same way as that given by Shahrastānī about Aḥmad ibn al-Kayyāl, but the name of the *māriq* was not mentioned, it is quite possible that, perusing the well-known work of this famous heresiologist, he unhesitatingly identified the *māriq* with Ibn al-Kayyāl. But the real *māriq* in question was ‘Abdu’l-lāh b. Maymūn. The most interesting reference of such an erudite author as the great Abū’l-‘Alā al-Ma‘arri (363/973–449/1058) in his *Kitābu’l-Ghufrān*,¹ in which he mentions the apostasy of Ibn al-Qaddāh, coupled with the fact of his being completely ignored in Ismaili literature, seems to be extremely significant. What is more natural than the protest of the old fanatic, who spent his whole life in promoting the religion to which he was so devoted, and now sees that the rivalry of the different sons of the defunct head of the sect threaten to ruin the work of his whole life? It is quite easy to believe that he had to resort to the *waqfiyya* principle. When later on the talented and remarkably energetic first and second concealed Imams, the real ancestors of the Fatimids, succeeded in turning the ideas of the sect into a new channel, and making the followers to accept the principle of the continuation of Imamāt,—as it is formulated in the well-known expression: “the world never remains without an Imam”,—they, quite naturally, weeded out all the beliefs referring to the doctrine of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il being the Seventh Nāṭiq, etc. The memory of the *māriqs* ‘Abdu’l-lāh b. Maymūn and others gradually disappeared from tradition, and only a few fragmentary epithets and expressions, retained in the esoteric beliefs from that earlier phase of the religion, were all that the conservatism of the sect could preserve in its further evolution.

The connection between ‘Abdu’l-lāh b. Maymūn and Ismailism or Qarmatianism so far cannot be established by references to different historical documents, and this is again a weak point of the official theory. But it is easy to explain this: both Ismailism and Qarmatianism appear on the historical stage as already organized movements only as late as the last quarter of the third/ninth c., i.e. probably more than a century after the death of ‘Abdu’l-lāh b. Maymūn. In the total absence of any reliable chronology, and genuine records, the picture is very fragmentary and obscure. Many episodes have been completely misunderstood, as in the case of the grand rising of the Arab tribes in the Syrian desert, which nearly ended in the seizure of Damascus. The rising was always treated as a campaign of the “Northern branch of the Qarmatians”;

¹ B. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 59.



and many learned theories have been based on the interpretation of different reports about these events. In reality, however, the rising had nothing to do with the Qarmatians of any branch, was a purely Ismaili and pro-Fatimid movement, and was merely an unsuccessful rehearsal of what ten years later was with such triumph staged at the gates of Sijilmasa. With a slightly better organization, under more talented leaders, etc., the struggle had much chance to be crowned with the establishment of the Fatimid caliphate in Syria; the consequences of such developments would probably have altered the whole history of Islam.

I hope to analyse all these matters elsewhere; here I would like to add a few words about a possible additional link between the early events mentioned above, and the history of the Qarmatians of Bahrayn.

As Dr. B. Lewis apparently rightly concludes, different names mentioned in connection of the exploits of the famous Qarmatian leader, Abū Sa'id Hasan b. Bahrām al-Jannābī in Bahrayn, apparently refer to one and the same person (p. 78 sq.): Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. *al-Mahdī* aṭ-Ṭamāmī (or aṣ-Ṣamāmī). He was killed by Abū Sa'id apparently soon after his arrival in Bahrayn (i.e. after 281/894). The name "al-Mahdī" is rather rare; we may therefore have some right to ask whether this Yaḥyā b. al-Mahdī, who apparently was a prominent member of the community, and a dignitary, was a son of *Mahdī* b. Hurmuz, mentioned above in the narrative of the last years of life of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, and the events which took place after his death?

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AT-TARJAMATU'Z-ZĀHIRA

AN ANONYMOUS TRACT ON THE HISTORY OF
THE BOHORAS

By H. M. FAKHR

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

While preparing a descriptive list of the Persian and Arabic MSS. in the Society's collection (1928, *JBBRAS*, N.S., iii. 1-43), I found a MS. dealing with the early history of the Bohoras which fully merited publication both on account of its historical allusions and of its entertaining character (*Ibid.*, pp. 7-9). The MS., entitled *at-Tarjamatu'z-Zāhira li-Firqati Bohratil-Bāhira*, is an anonymous Arabic *risāla*, with an interlinear Persian translation. As I was not familiar with the history of Gujarat, I prevailed upon my friend Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, who is not only well-versed in Persian, but also familiar with the history of Gujarat, to translate the interlinear rendering of the Arabic original. This he did in an interesting paper 'A Legendary History of the Bohoras' (1933, *JBBRAS*, 37-52), and added some very illuminating notes from other sources. The Arabic original however remained unedited; and it gives me pleasure that one of my pupils at the Law College, Mr. H. M. Fakhr, has now edited the Arabic text for publication. He was able to obtain a copy of this rare *risāla* from an Ismaili source for purposes of collation, and the result is an improvement in the text offered below. Not many variants are actually indicated, but the newly-found MS. which is designated خ furnishes on the whole a better text. This MS. was transcribed by Dā'ūd b. Qāsimjī of Wadhwan in Kathiawar. It consists of ten folios, 5½ by 4½ inches, 12 lines to the page. The last line on each page is lost because the whole of the bottom portion is worm-eaten. The paper used is Indian, handmade, and the date is 1272/1855, being 7 years later than the Society's copy, Ar. 4.

Despite the coming to light of خ, the authorship of *at-Tarjamatu'z-Zāhira* remains unknown (1933, *JBBRAS*, 45). As its contents are fully given in the *Descriptive List* (1928, *JBBRAS*, 7-9), no useful purpose would be served by furnishing a complete translation of the tract, especially as Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri has in his previous article published a rendering of the Persian interlinear translation. Mr. Fakhr has added however a few notes to indicate those passages where the Arabic original differs from the Persian rendering, and these need careful attention, although the discrepancies are hardly consequential.



The *risāla* is full of purely Indian legends, and apart from its historical interest, it contains the earliest known reference to the derivation of the word Bohora (p. 95, l. 13, 14). —A.A.A.F.

TEXT.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
التَّرْجَمَةُ الزَّاهِرَةُ لفرقة بهرة الباهرة

الحمد لله الذي لا توفيق إلا به ولا هُدى إلا من أسبابه،
و الصلوة على بيت قدسه و بابه و مهبط وحيه^(١)، و كتابه
محمد بن المصطفى المرسل رحمة لأعجام الخلق و أعرابه و على الأطنهار
الأئمة من ولده و الأبرار الجلة و أصحابه المتمسكين^(٢) بأذنيه
المتأدبين بأدابه ۞

أما بعد فهذه ترجمة أُفْرِغَتْ في بيان ما عليه الفرقة
الراشدة المعروفة بأرض الهند بهرة، و كيف أمرهم و إلى أين
ينتهي أصلهم و عمن نالوا نعمة الدين الحنيف الذي هو دين الاسلام
الذي من دان به نزل دار السلام فأقول و أنا منهم لا عزلي الله
عنهم، إن هذه الفرقة ظاهرها السداد و باطنها الرشد فهم يصلون ١٠

(٢) المستكين، كذا في خ ۞

(١) و حيط ۞ realpatidar.com



أَبْدًا وَيُصُومُونَ وَبِأَعْيَانٍ^(١) الْعِبَادَةُ أَبْدًا يَقُومُونَ وَيَعْمَلُونَ بِالْكِتَابِ
وَالسُّنَّةِ، وَلَا يَخَالِفُونَ مِنْ أَحْكَامِهَا حَكْمًا، وَلَا يَتْرَكُونَ مِنْ رُسُومِهَا
رِسْمًا، وَلَهُمْ مِنْهُمْ^(٢) هَادٍ يَهْدِيهِمْ وَيَقُومُ أَبْدًا بِالذِّعْوَةِ إِلَى الْحَقِّ فِيهِمْ
وَيَأْمُرُهُمْ وَيُزَجِّرُهُمْ^(٣) فَيَأْتَمِرُونَ لِأَمْرِهِ وَيُزَجَّرُونَ لَزَجْرِهِ
لَا يُخْرِجُونَ عَنْ أَمْرِهِ قَطُّ خُرُوجًا وَلَا يَتَعَدُّونَ حُكْمَهُ وَرُودًا وَلَا
صُدُورًا وَكَمَا أَنْتَ لَهُ عَلَيْهِمْ بِالْحَقِيقَةِ رِيَاسَةٌ فَإِنَّ لَهُ كَذَلِكَ فِيهِمْ ضَبْطًا
وَسِيَاسَةً يَقِيمُ عَلَيْهَا مِنْهُمْ أَتْبَاعَهُ وَيُرِضُ بِهَا مِنْهُمْ أَشْيَاءَهُ، وَكَلَّمَ مَضَى
هَادِيَهُمُ الَّذِي بِهِدَاهُ يَهْتَدُونَ وَإِلَيْهِ فِي الْأُمُورِ كُلِّهَا يَرْجِعُونَ، أَقَامَ مَقَامَهُ
فِيهِمْ مَنْ يَهْدِيهِمْ كَهْدْيِهِ وَيَسْمَى لِصَلَاحِهِمْ كَسْعِيهِ وَيَكُونُ مَنْ يَقِيمُهُ
مِنْ وَلَدِهِ إِنْ كَانَ لَهُ مِنَ الْوَلَدِ مَنْ يَصْلُحُ لِمَقَامِهِ لَمَّا يَرَى مِنْ فَضْلِهِ
وَكَمَا لَهُ، وَمَنْ غَيْرُ وَلَدِهِ مِنَ الْأَجَانِبِ إِذَا كَانَ فِيهِ مِنَ الْفَضْلِ مَا يَرْجَحُ
بِهِ عَلَى الْأَقَارِبِ وَإِذَا اخْتَارَهُ عَلَيْهِمْ سَارَعُوا^(٤) إِلَى طَاعَتِهِ وَوَقَعُوا
تَحْتَ أَمْرِهِ مَنْ غَيْرُ إِنْكَارٍ مِنْهُمْ لَذَلِكَ وَلَا اعْتِرَاضٍ وَلَا
اخْتِلَاجٍ شَكٍّ فِي ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ وَلَا ارْتِيَابٍ فَهَذِهِ وَتَبَيَّرَتْهُمْ
وَهَذَا دَأْبُهُمْ وَهَذِهِ^(٥) مَكَارِمُهُمْ وَأَدَابُهُمْ، وَقَدْ كَانُوا فِي أَرْضِ
كُجَرَاتٍ فِيمَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنَ السَّنِينَ عَلَى غَيْرِ هَذَا الدِّينِ حَتَّى جَاءَهُمْ
رَجُلٌ مِنَ الْيَمَنِ وَلِيُّ مِنَ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ، وَتَقَيُّ مِنَ الْإِتْقِيَاءِ، كَامِلٌ فِي الْعِلْمِ

(١) وَبِأَعْيَانٍ

(١) وَبِأَعْيَانٍ، *

(٢) فِي الْأَصْلِ: هَذَا مِنْ *

(٢) مِنْهَا، *

(٣) وَيُزَجِّرُهُمْ، *



و العمل، مصونٌ من الخطاء و النّخل، موسومٌ بمولنا عبد الله العابد
الآواه ذى الشرف و الجاه، فنزل فيما يوتر بموضع كهبايت و لقي رجلا
يدعى كاكّا أكيلًا^(١) و امرأته كاكى أكيلي^(٢) فى مزرعةٍ لهما، فقال له
كاكا أكيلًا: مَنْ أنت و من أين أقبلت؟ فقال: من أرض العرب
و قد احتجتُ الآن إلى ماء لأشرب فان كان عندك ماء فهاته، فقال: ^٥
يا أخا العرب، إن ههنا^(٣) بئرًا قد أصبح ماؤها غورًا فمر. يأتينا بماءٍ
معين فقال: أين هي أرنى مكانها؟ فمرّ به إليها فقال له: أيها^(٤) الرجل،
إن فاضت البئر ماءً فرأتنا أفتدخل فى دينى و تترك دينك؟ فقال:
نعم هو لك عليّ فأحسن إليّ، فضرب فى البئر حينئذٍ السهم فبلغ الحجر^(٥)
فأنشَقَ انشقاقًا و نبغ الماء و أندفق اندفاقًا، فلما رأى الرجل هذا المعجزَ ^{١٠}
لم يلبث^(٦) أن أسلم و أذعن لأمر ذاك الولي و أسلم هو و امرأته
المذكورةُ فى تلك المزرعة المشهورة، فحسن إسلامهما و سعيًا معه مساعيٍ
مشكورة. *

ثم إن مولاي عبد الله سار إلى^(٧) باطن العمران فأظهر
هنالك من المعاجز العلمية ما أعجز كلّ عالم و أبدى من البواهر ^{١٥}

(١) فى الاصل: كاكّا أكيلًا. (٥) حينئذٍ بهم بلغ الحجر خ

(٢) فى الاصل: كاكى كيلي. (٦) لم يثبت إلا أن أسلم.

(٣) ههنا، (٧) إلى، كذا فى خ.

(٤) أنها.



ما خضع له كلّ مارد^(١) و لقي زعيم السدنة هنالك فالتقى عليه
من المسائل ما أسكته،^(٢) و أسمعته من البيان ما أعجبه، فاسلم له
و اعتقد فضله ثم عاد إلى كهنايت و كان هنا ك فيل في كنيسة
من كنائسهم متخذ من حديد قائم في الهواء بغير عمد، فعمل
هذا الولي في إسقاطه و أرى من إسقاطه أمراً عجيباً^(٣) تاب له المشركون
من عبادة الأصنام إلى عبادة الله ذي الجلال والإكرام، و تحير الملك
بأرض باطن يسمى سدرا جيشنگ (sic) تحيراً عظيماً، و قضى من الأمر
عجباً^(٤) كبيراً فسأل من فعل هذا بهذا الفيل العظيم القائم في الهواء بقدرة الله
منذ مدة مديدة؟ فقالوا: رجل غريب أقبل من اليمن يدعو الناس
إلى دينه الذي هو دين الاسلام و يعيب^(٥) الآلهة المتخذة من دون الله
و يأمر بهدمها والكفر بها فغضب الملك و أخرج إليه عسكرياً
يأخذونه، و يأتون الملك به فلما دنى العسكر من ذلك الولي رأوا
حوله خندقاً عظيماً فيه نار^(٦) تلتهب و تتأجج^(٧) فلم يقدرُوا أن
يقتحموا الخندق عليه و أغوزتهم الحيل أن يصلوا إليه فأخبروا
الملك بخبره فجاء و تضرع إليه و قال له: اجعل لنا الطريق إليك حتى

(٥) و بغيث *

(٦) تارة *

(٧) تناجح *

(١) ماورد *

(٢) أسكنه *

(٣) عجيباً *

(٤) عجيباً *



نقدم عليك و نتحدث معك فإن كنتَ على حقٍ تابعتناك، فأذن له
و خمدت النار كأنها لم تكن شيئاً، و وصل الملك فقام بين يديه و قال :
أيها الولي الكامل، إن ديننا الذي نحن عليه هو قديمٌ، و الذي تدعوننا
إليه هو أمرٌ جديدٌ، لاعهد لنا به، فهل لك من حجةٍ علينا أنك على الحق
و نحن على الباطل ؟ فقال : نعم أيها الملك إنك أبداً تسجد لهذا
الصنم الكبير و توقره غاية التوقير و هو لا ينطق لك و لا يسمع^(١)
دعائك و لا يضرك و لا ينفعك و أنا أسجد لله العظيم الذي لا أرجو
إلا خيره و لا أخشى غيره، و هو الحي الذي يجيبني إذا دعوتُ
و يسمع شكواي إذا شكوتُ و بما أقدرني جلّ جلاله أقدر على كل شيء.
حتى أتى ان شئتُ أمرتُ هذا الصنم فيتكلم بلسان تفهم و يُنبئك^(٢) ١٠
أنك لست على شيء و يعترف لي بالفضل و يشهد لأمرى بالحق فإن
ضمنت لي بالدخول في ديني أنطقُ صنمك فقال الملك: هذا لك
علينا، فأفعل حتى يتبين لنا^(٣) أنك على الحق دوننا فأمر الولي الصنم
فنطق و تكلم و قال: هذا الولي هو المحق^(٤) و الملك هو المبطل ليس
هو على شيء سوى شركٍ و غيٍ فتعجب الملك و من كان معه ١٥
من أبناء دينه حتى ألجأهم ما شاهدوه بعيونهم و سمعوه بأذنههم إلى الإقرار
بفضل ذلك الولي و الشهادة له بالحق و الدخول في دينه و الوقوع تحت
طاعته، و لم يتمالك الملك عن قطع زناره و قطع بقطعه سائر من كان

(١) «ك، لك»

(١) في الاصل ليس لفظ « يسمع »

(٢) «الحق، ك»

(٢) خ: يبينك



معه من المشركين زنايرهم فليل بلغ وزن الزناير يومئذ مائتين
 وستين رطلاً، و بطل دينهم بطلاً و ظهر دين الاسلام، و جاء الحق
 و زهق الباطل إِنَّ الْبَاطِلَ كَانَ زَهُوقًا، و ظهر لإسلام و خفقت له
 الاعلام و كثر المسلمون في أرض^(١) كهنبات و سائر بقاع كجرات،
 و حسن إسلام الملك المسمى سدرًا جيشنگ، و يسمى أيضاً بهارمل
 و هو أول من أسلم، و هو الذي ينتمى^(٢) إليه المولى^(٣) الكامل و الهادي
 الفاضل مولنا سيف الدين^(٤) هو و أبائه الأفاضل و الموالى^(٥)
 الأماثل فهو جدّهم الأكرم و أبوهم الأعظم، و إلى ولده المسمى
 مولاي يعقوب فوض الأمر ألولي المرّضي الخلائق الآتي بالبواهر
 و الخوارق، لما انتقل إلى دار كرامة الله فقام بالأمر مدة حياته ثم
 أسند الأمر إلى ولده ملا إسحاق الذي رباه حتى صاركهو ثم جرى
 الأمر في ولده الأقربين زماناً و في الولاية الأجنيبين زماناً حتى
 انتهى الأمر إلى مولانا و ولي أمرنا ألهادي للدين القويم و الجارى
 على الصراط المستقيم سيدنا و مولنا^(٦) زين الدين^(٧) أطال الله بقاءه
 إلى يوم الدين، فهو الآن و لي أمرنا و من به نحن منوطون^(٨) كلنا
 و إليه رجوعنا في أمر ديننا و هو ضخم أساطين يقيننا، و كان ظهور

(١) خ: في أرض باطن و كهنبات • (٥) و الامولى •

(٢) يتبعى • (٦) في خ: طيب زين الدين •

(٣) الموكّل • Refers to Dā'i No. 45. (٧) متوطنون •

(٨) متوطنون • Ref. to Dā'i 'Abd 'Alī, No. 43, (٣) died 1817.



الاسلام في أرض كجرات على يد الولي المولى عبد الله المذكور
 ذي المكارم و المعاجز الباهرات، و المعالم و الآيات القاهرة التي
 دعى بالآيات خلاف عادات الدعات سنة اربع مائة وستين من الهجرة
 المباركة وكان موته في موضع كهنايت و هنالك قبره و هو
 مشهور و أبداً مَزُورٌ^(١) و كان وصوله^(٢) بأمر من درس عليه ٥
 و أخذ عنه و اقتبس منه، و هو من بعض علماء اليمن المسمى
 لملك بن مالك الحمادي فهو منبعه الذي منه نبع و أصله الذي عليه تفرع
 و درس هو أعنى العالم الفاضل لملك^(٣) على المولى الكامل الزاهد العالم
 الواحد هبة الله بن موسى من أهل شيراز و أخذ هذا الشيرازي
 عن أبيه عن آبائه الفاضلين المنتهين أمرهم إلى أحد صحابة ١٠
 النبي الكاملين الناصحين على منواله المتوالين له و لآله و هو سلمان
 الخير ابن الاسلام رضي الله عنه، زهرة روضة الاخلاص القائل فيه
 النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم سلمان منا أهل البيت، و سلمان الامام
 بعد الإمام الاعظم، و له فضائل جمّة مشهورة و مكارم عديدة مذكورة،
 و كان له من الاختصاص عند النبي صلى الله عليه و على آله مالم ١٥
 يكن لغيره و هو من أفاضل أصحابه و أعلام رجاله المتوالين
 له و لآله، و سئل علي صلوات الله عليه عنه فقال: سلمان علم العلم
 الأول و الآخر و هو بحر لا يُنَزَفُ و هو منا أهل البيت و كان مَجَلًّا^(٤)

(٣) ملك، ٥

(١) البداء مرورا؟

(٣) منحلّ، ٥

(٢) في خ و كان وصوله من اليمن، ٥



عند الخلفاء، و كان عطائه خمسمائة الآف^(١) و كان يفرقها
و يأكل من عمل يديه و لا يقبل من أحد شيئاً و لم يكن
له بيت و إنما كان يستظل^(٢) الجدر و الشجر و كانت له عباءة
يفرش بعضها و يلبس بعضها و قيل دخل قوم على سلمان و هو أمير
على المدائن و هو يعمل الخوص^(٣) فقيل له : لم تعمل هذا و أنت
أمير قال : أنا أحب أن آكل من عمل يدي، و عن عائشة
قالت كان لسلمان مجلس من رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يتفرد
بالليل حتى كاد يغلبنا على رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم،
و مات في خلافة عثمان بالمدائن سنة خمس و ثلاثين، و اختلف القول
في عمره قال العباس بن زيد عاش سلمان ثلثمائة و خمسين سنة،
و أما مائتان و خمسون فلا يشكون فيها، و يقال أنه أدرك وصي
عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام و قراء الكتابين *

و لفظ بهرة معناه التاجر، يقول أهل گجرات لمن يبيع
و يشتري بهرة، و قيل فيه قول آخر، و هذا أظهر و أشهر،
و إذ قد انتهى بنا القول إلى هذا الموضع فلنختم هذا الجزء الموسوم
بالترجمة الزاهرة لفرقة بهرة الباهرة بحمد الله ذي القُدرة القاهرة

(٣) هذا الخوص *

(١) خ : خمسة الاف *

(٢) يستحل *



و الصلوة على نبيه محمد و عبرته الطاهرة و حسبنا الله و نعم الوكيل
و نعم المولى و نعم النصير و لا حول و لا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم *

تمت تمام شد ، تاریخ ہفتم صفر المظفر سنہ ۱۲۶۵ ہجریہ ،
کاتب الحروف منشی حاجی صلاح الدین آرائی

NOTES.

Only the most important points of discrepancy between the translation offered by Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri in 1933, *JBBRAS*, 37-52 and the present text are mentioned. His paper is referred to as *Leg. His.*, and the page and line refers to the Arabic text as printed above.

- (1) Compare page 90, line 15, with *Leg. His.*, page 40, line 3 :
'And demonstrated something to the Bohoras.'

It should be—

'He ('Abdu'l-lāh) demonstrated some of the wonders which made every infidel submissive or humbled'—

(The word **عجب** according to Lane's Lex. means wonder, syn. **عجب**.)

- (2) Compare page 91, line 12, with *Leg. His.*, page 40, line 26 :
'The king was brought there.'

It should be—

'They should bring him to the king.'

- (3) Compare page 93, line 6, with *Leg. His.*, page 42, line 5 :
'It was he who afterwards became the perfect agent and the excellent guide Mawlānā Saifu'd-dīn and he (Saifu'd-dīn) was their excellent ancestor and their great father.'

It should be—

'And it was he to whom the perfect agent and the excellent guide Mawlānā Saifu'd-dīn is related (i.e. the *Dā'i* of the author's period) as well as his excellent ancestors and forefathers. So he (the King) is their noble ancestor and great father.'

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(4) Compare page 93, line 8, with *Leg. His.*, page 42, line 9 :

‘This son Mawlā Ya‘qūb was the person to whom the affair was entrusted when Saifu‘d-dīn died.’

It should be—

‘And to his (the king Sidraj’s) son whose name was Ya‘qūb the affair was entrusted by the *Walī* (‘Abdu‘l-lāh) when he died.’

(5) Compare page 94, line 5, with *Leg. His.*, page 42, line 29:

‘Some of the Yemenite learned men called him Lamak b. Mālik al-Hammādī.’

It should be—

‘And his coming (to India) was by the order of one near whom he learnt and who was one of the learned men of Yaman whose name was Lamak b. Malik al-Hammādī.’

(6) Compare page 94, line 7, with *Leg. His.*, page 42, line 31 :

‘Now he is the source from which he sprung (?).’

It should be—

‘And this Lamak is the source from which ‘Abdu‘l-lāh sprung out, i.e. derived his knowledge.’

(7) Compare page 94, line 18, with *Leg. His.*, page 43, line 12 :

‘All Khalifs are his equals.’

It should be—

‘He was respected by all the Khalifs.’

(8) Compare page 95, line 2, with *Leg. His.*, p. 43, line 14 :

‘For residence he had built a house under the shadow of which walls and trees sought shelter.’

It should be—

‘He had no house but he used to seek shelter under walls and trees.’

(9) Compare page 95, line 6, with *Leg. His.*, page 43, line 10:

‘She was pleading for Salman sitting near the Prophet at night time when he left.’

It should be—

‘She related that several sittings used to take place by the Prophet with Salmān privately at night time where Salmān was almost overpowering all of us (in his learning) before the Prophet, may the peace of God be upon him and on his progeny.’

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(10) Compare page 95, line 11, with *Leg. His.*, p. 43, line 29 :

‘It is said that Salmān had met Jesus, the son of Mary,
on whom be salutation.’

It should be—

‘It is said that Salmān had met the representative of Jesus.’



SHORT NOTES

MATERIALS FOR AN ISMAILI BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1936-1938

By ASAF A. A. FYZEE

On a previous occasion attention had been drawn to the necessity of preparing an adequate bibliography of all works relating to Ismailism which had appeared till that time, and the difficulty of doing so at Bombay, which had become a centre of Ismaili research. To the bibliography prepared by Prof. L. Massignon¹ must now be added the seventy-two titles appearing in my earlier paper,² and some twenty more in an additional note.³ The previous materials came up to the year 1935; in the present issue it is proposed to enumerate the books, articles and important reviews which have appeared during the three years 1936, 1937 and 1938. It is to be hoped that this will be a regular feature and that students of Ismailism will contribute to making the notes as exhaustive as possible. I would therefore appeal to every reader of these lines to send additional titles, so that in course of time an adequate bibliography of Ismailism may be possible of compilation.

My gratitude is due to Professor Ign. Kratchkovsky (Leningrad) and Mr. B. Lewis (London) for suggestions and additions.

1936

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2. Ivanow, W. *A Creed of the Fatimids*. (Based on the *Tāju'l-'aqā'id* of Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. Md. b. al-Walīd.) Qayyimah Press, Bombay. 82 pages.
3. ———. *Ummu'l-Kitāb*. Persian text, edited. *Der Islam*, vol. xxiii, pp. 1-132.
4. ———. The Sect of Imam-Shah in Gujrat. *JBBRAS*, pp. 19-70.
5. ———. Rāshidu'd-dīn Sinān. *EI*, iii, p. 1123.
6. ———. Ismā'īliya. *EI* (Supplement), pp. 98-102.

¹ "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate", *'Ajabnāma* (a volume of studies presented to E. G. Browne on his 60th birthday, Cambridge, 1922), 328-329.

² "Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography," *JBBRAS* for 1935, N.S., Vol. 11, 59-65.

³ "Additional Notes for an Ismaili Bibliography", *JBBRAS* for 1936, N.S., Vol. 12, 107-109.



7. Kraus, P. Raziana, II. Extraits du Kitāb *A'lāmu'n-Nubuwwa* d'Abu Ḥātim ar-Rāzī. *Orientalia*, V, fasc. 1, pp. 35–56.
8. ———. Do. (continued). *Ibid.*, pp. 358–378.
9. Massignon, L. Mutanabbi devant le Siècle Ismaëlien de l'Islam. *Mem. de l'Inst. Franç. de Damas*, Beyrouth.
10. Mujtaba Ali, Syed. *The Origin of the Khojas and their Religious Life Today*. *Untersuch. zum allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*, 8. Bonn. 109 pages.
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1. Al-Hamdānī, H. F. A Compendium of Ismā'īlī Esoterics (*Zahru'l-Ma'ānī*). *Islamic Culture*, XI, pp. 210–220.
2. Ḥasan 'Alī 'Abdu'l-'Alī. *Shādī Nikāḥ* (i.e. the *sharī'a* injunctions regarding marriage together with extracts from *da'wat* books), pp. 96, 15. Burhanpur.
3. 'Inān, Md. 'Abdu'l-lāh. *al-Ḥākīm bi-amri'l-lāh wa asrāru'd-da'wati'l-Fātimīya*. (In Arabic.) Dār Nashr al-Ḥadīth, Cairo, 277 pages.
4. Juwaynī. *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*. Persian text, Part III, The Assassins. Edited by Mirzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī. Gibb Memorial N. Series, XVI, 3. Pp. xiv, 592, 30.
5. Zakī Md. Hasan. *Kunūzu'l-Fātimīyīn*. In Arabic, 1356/1937, Cairo. Dāru'l-Kutub al-Miṣriya. 292 pages and numerous plates.

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- (1) Guidi, M. Review on *Kalāmi Pīr* by W. Ivanow (I.R.A. Series, No. 5, 1935). *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, xvii, pp. 232–233.
- (2) ———. Review on *A Creed of the Fatimids* by W. Ivanow (see above, No. 2 of 1936), *ibid.*, pp. 293–302.

1938

1. Chunārā, 'Alī Md. Jān Md. *Nūri Mubīn ḥablu'l-lāhi'l-Matīn*. (In Urdu.) Lives of the Ismaili Imams. Khoja Sindhi Press, Bombay. 670 pages. (Also in Gujrati).
2. Daylamī, Md. b. Ḥasan. *Bayān madhhabī'l-Bāṭinīya wa buḥlānī-hi (manqūl min kitāb Qawā'id 'aqā'id āl Muḥammad)*. Ed. R. Strothmann. Bib. Islamica, No. 11. Istanbul; Maṭba'atu'd-Dawla. Brockhaus, Z.D.M.G. 137 pages.
3. Fyze, Asaf A. A. *al-Hidāyatū'l-Āmirīya* (with an appendix *Īqā' Ṣawā'iqi'l-Irghām*). Arabic text, edited with an introduction. Islamic Research Association Series, No. 7. Oxford University Press, Bombay. 21 + 39 pages.



4. Ivanow, W. A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis. *JRAS*, pp. 57-79.
5. ———. Tombs of Persian Ismaili Imams. *JBBRAS*, pp. 49-62.
6. ———. An Ismaili Poem in praise of Fidawis. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-72.
7. ———. Some Ismaili Strongholds in Persia. *Islamic Culture*, xii, pp. 383-396.
8. Kraus, P. The "Controversies" of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-153.
9. Lewis, B. An Ismaili Interpretation of the Fall of Adam. *BSOS*, 691.
10. Strothmann, R. On the History of Islamic Heresiography. *Islamic Culture*, XII, pp. 5-16 (to be continued).
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Postscript :

An addition to the bibliography already published is a Persian book *Fī Ta'rīkh-i Firqatī'l-Āghākhānīya wa'l-Bohra* by Maḥmūd b. Maḥdī at-Tabrizī (an-Najafī). Pp. 354, 8 by 6 inches, 24 lines to the page, Persian lithograph, *naskh*. Najaf, Maṭba'a Murtaḍwiya, 1351/1932.

THREE SULAYMANI DA'IS: 1936-1939

By ASAF A. A. FYZEE

The Sulaymani Musta'lians are so few in number that very little is known about them. Apart from those that are to be found in Bombay and Sind, the bulk of them exist in the Yemen, and it is almost impossible to give a correct estimate of their numerical extent.¹ Information about their *dā'īs* is also extremely difficult to obtain, and except the dates of their death mentioned in their prayer book, *Ṣaḥīfatū's-Ṣalāt*, almost nothing is known to the outside world, although it is said that the Da'wat carefully preserves their biographies and the accounts of their times. In the year 1934 a chronological list of the Imāms and *dā'īs* of the Musta'lian Ismailis was published by me.² Since then, during the last four years, three of their *dā'īs* have died, the 45th in 1936, the 46th in 1938 and the 47th in 1939. Another point of interest is that the 46th *dā'ī*, together with the 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th, was one of the seven Indian *dā'īs* out of 48, the rest being Yemenite Arabs.

¹ 1934, *JBBRAS*, 16.

² *Ibid.*, 8-16.



Continuing the list of the Sulaymānī *dā'īs* from p. 14 of the article cited, we may note the names and the dates ¹ of death of the three who have died, and the name of the present *dā'ī*, the 48th in the line of succession.

45. Sayyid-nā al-Jamālī 'Alī b. Muḥsin. 10 (9) Rajab 1355/Friday, 25 September, 1936. Najrān, Yemen.

46. Sayyid-nā Ḥusāmu'd-dīn al-Ḥājj Ghulām Ḥusayn. 21 (20) Ṣafar 1357/Thursday, 21 April, 1938. Bombay.

47. Sayyid-nā ash-Sharafī Sharafu'd-dīn Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Makramī. 18 (16) Sha'bān 1358/Sunday, 1st October, 1939. Tā'if.

48. Sayyid-nā Jamālu'd-dīn 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Makramī, son of the previous *dā'ī*, is the present *dā'ī*.

Through the kindness and courtesy of the present *manṣūb* ² of the Sulaymānīs, that is the *dā'ī* of India, who is under the *dā'ī* of the Yemen, Mawlānā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Ishaq Ṣāhib, it has been possible to obtain a few biographical particulars of each of the last three *dā'īs*. In this connection I have also to express my gratitude to Mawlawī Muḥammad Shākir, who visited the Yemen in 1341/1922-23 in the company of the late Mawlānā al-Ḥājj Fathu'l-lāh, brother of the late Sayyid-nā Ghulām Ḥusayn, the 46th *dā'ī*.

The 45th *dā'ī*, Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. Muḥsin, was born in 1275/1858, and thus attained the age of 80 years according to the Muslim calendar, and of 78 years, according to the solar reckoning. He was a silent, learned man, with a mystic bent of mind, and was very popular with the tribesmen. Extremely courteous and simple in his ways, the Beduin had complete access to him at all times. He reigned as *dā'ī* for 23 years, and is buried at Ḥiṣn Manṣūra in Najrān. Being a Yemenite Arab, we have not much information regarding the details of his life.

The next *dā'ī*, Sayyid-nā Ghulām Ḥusayn Ṣāhib, was in many respects a remarkable personality, and being an Indian, we have a fuller account of his life, attainments and activities. He was born on the first of Jumādā I, 1274/17 December 1857 at Hyderabad, Deccan. He learnt Arabic first at home, and later on he and his brother Mawlā-nā al-Ḥājj Fathu'l-lāh, who ultimately became a *manṣūb*, studied at one of the most famous centres of

¹ With regard to the dates, the first figure represents the date according to the Ismaili reckoning, and the second, bracketed figure, according to the usual Islamic calendar. For the Ismaili dates, the permanent calendar prepared by Shaykh Hibatu'l-lāh b. Shamsu'd-dīn, called *Minhāju't-Tawārīkh* (Bombay, 1355/1936) has been used; and for the dates according to the general Islamic calendar, Wüstenfeld-Mahler, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, 2nd ed., by Ed. Mahler (Leipzig, 1926).

² According to the Sulaymānī nomenclature, the *dā'ī* of the Yemen has three *jazā'ir* (sing. *jazīra*) under him: Yemen, Sind, and Hind (India). The *dā'īs* of Sind and Hind are called *manṣūbs*, and they have a slightly lower position than the *dā'ī* of the Yemen, who is also called *dā'ī qabā'il Yām*. (See *JBBRAS* for 1934, 16.)



Arabic learning, Deoband, and were the pupils of the celebrated Mawlā-nā Muhammad Qāsim, the founder of the Deoband School, which has now acquired great fame as a school of *ḥadīth* and Qur'anic sciences. Sayyid-nā Ghulām Ḥusayn visited the Yemen in 1303/1885-86 during the time of the 42nd *dā'ī* and acquired a special knowledge of the *ḥaqā'iq*. His father was also a celebrated divine and *manṣūb*, Mawlā-nā al-Ḥājj Farḥat 'Alī Ṣāhib (died 1324/1906).

In 1327/1909 Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. Hibat'l-lāh the 44th *dā'ī* (died 1331/1913) appointed him *manṣūb* by *naṣṣ* (*muṭlaq*)¹ at the age of 53, and it is curious that according to the *abjad* system of recording dates in mnemonic words, the words مولانا غلام حسين indicate 1327. On the death of Mawlā-nā Diyā' 'Alī Ṣāhib, which occurred on 19 Shawwāl 1330/August 1912, he attained the full position of *al-manṣūb al-mustaqill*.

He was appointed *dā'ī* by *naṣṣ* in 1333 by Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. Muḥsin, who appointed him and Sayyid-nā ash-Sharafī to succeed each other. And on the death of Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. Muḥsin, which occurred on Friday, 10 Raj. 1355/25 Sep. 1936, he became the *dā'ī* of the Sulaymānī Musta'lians, thus being the seventh Indian to achieve this unique distinction.

Sayyid-nā Ghulām Ḥusayn died at Māhim, a suburb of Bombay, in his own house called Farḥat Manzil, and is buried in the Sulaymānī *qabristān* in Bombay. Being the only *dā'ī* to be buried here, a mausoleum is to be built on his tomb. He exercised the authority of a *dā'ī* for 1 year and 7 months.

Sayyid-nā Ghulām Ḥusayn was a master of the Arabic language, and the author of numerous works in Arabic and Urdu. Being a specialist in the *ḥaqā'iq*, his chief work was *al-Muntaḥal min Rāḥati'l-'Aql*, an abridgement of the well-known treatise of Sayyid-nā Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī, *Rāḥatu'l-'Aql* (2 vols., cf. Ivanow, *Guide*, No. 117), considered one of the most difficult, advanced, secret and rare works on the *ḥaqā'iq*. He also composed several works of an elementary character, both in Urdu and Arabic, like *al-Asbāqu'l-Arba'in*, *Qutru'n-Nadā (sīra)*, *Sharḥu'l-Masā'il* (Arabic and Urdu, Bombay, circa 1340 A.H.). (See Fyzee, *Ismaili Law of Wills*, 6.)

A man of rare courtesy, broad-mindedness and learning, he was considered an authority on the Qur'ānic sciences as well. In his later years he did not enjoy good health, and his younger brother and *manṣūb*, Mawlā-nā al-Ḥājj Fathu'l-lāh, helped him greatly in the affairs of the Da'wat, being a forceful and eloquent preacher, a fine scholar, and a man of altogether exceptional character and personality.

¹ A note on the nomenclature used by the Sulaymānīs may not be without interest. When a *dā'ī* appoints a person to succeed himself as *dā'ī*, or appoints one person as *manṣūb* and indicates his successor clearly, then such officer-designate is called *al-muṭlaq*. And when on the death of the existing *dā'ī* or *manṣūb* the *muṭlaq* attains the position of the *manṣūb* or *dā'ī* fully, he is then called *al-munfarid* or *al-mustaqill*.



The next *dā'i*, Sayyid-nā ash-Sharafi (as he was generally known) was born on 30 Rajab 1296/19 July, 1879. He came of a famous branch of the tribe of Yām, the Makramīs, which has produced several *dā'is*. A man of magnificent physique and great dignity of bearing, he was a good statesman and commanded general respect. It is said that he and Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. Muḥsin handled the disputes with Ibn Sa'ūd and Imām Yaḥyā with great tact and diplomacy. He was the author of a few books and *risālas*, but he will be remembered chiefly as a fine specimen of an Arab chieftain,—a born leader, endowed with the qualities of manliness and dignity, ruling his subjects with justice and strength. He died at the age of 62 in October, 1939, and was succeeded by his son (aged about 25) Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Makramī, who by his recent actions and writings, seems likely to maintain the high traditions of his ancient office.

Bombay, April, 1940.

ANOTHER AUTOGRAPH OF JAMI

By W. IVANOW

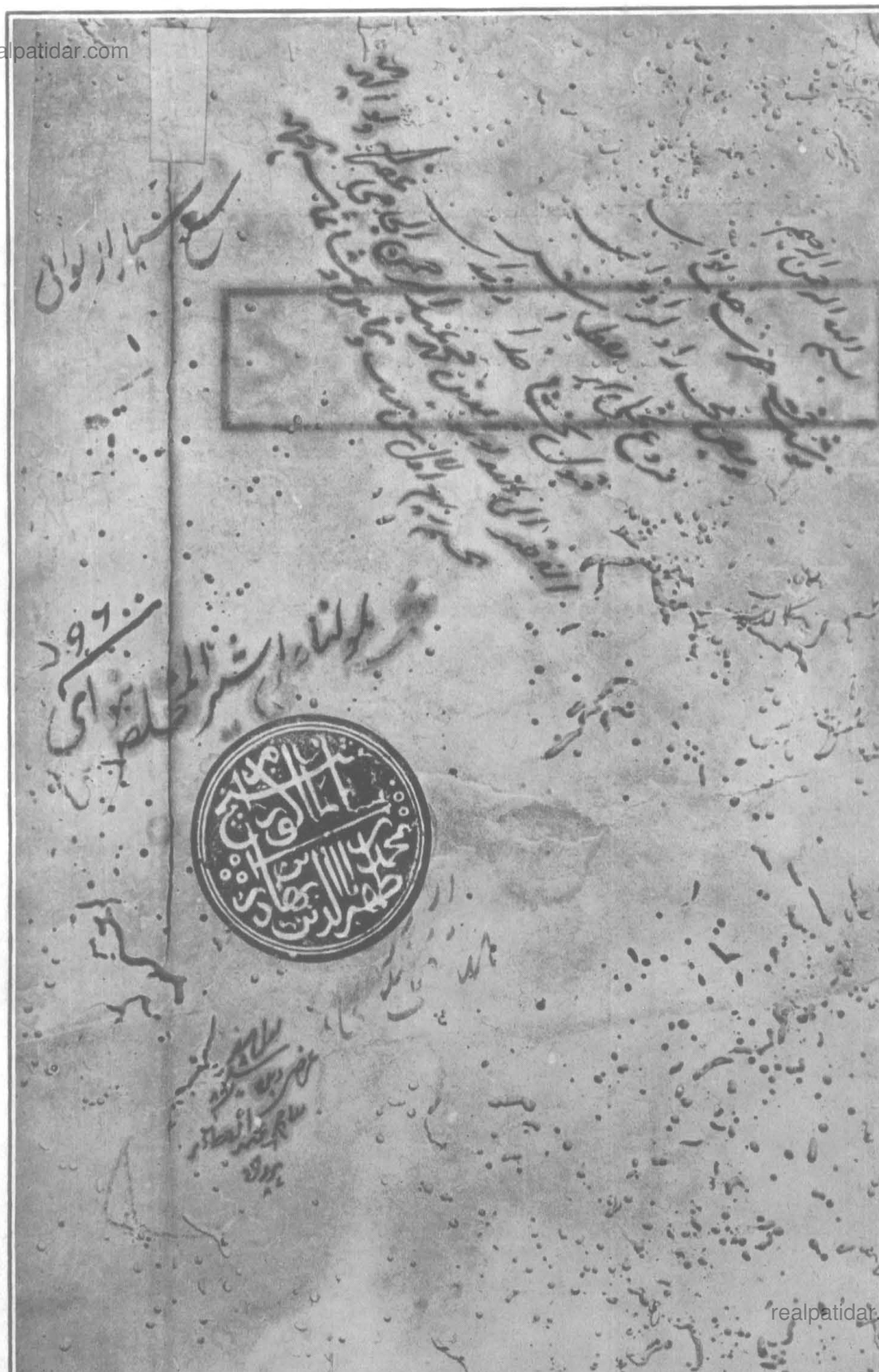
In the 1934 number of this *Journal* I had published a note, under the heading 'Genuineness of Jami's Autographs' (pp. 1-7), in which I analysed the genuineness of the supposed autographs of the great Persian poet, Nūru'd-dīn Jāmī (d. 898/1492), which are preserved in different libraries: the St. Petersburg copy, the Patna (Bankipur Library), and a copy in the private possession of Mr. A. M. Mecklai in Bombay. An examination and collation of the alleged autographs leaves little doubt that there is almost no chance whatever of their being genuine. The explanation that suggests itself is that all these copies were prepared in Herat and neighbouring towns probably soon after the death of Jāmī, by professional scribes, who as far as possible stuck to the handwriting of one style, most probably because it was considered as the most up-to-date, and was in demand. The expressions in which Jāmī's own name is mentioned were obviously copied from the real autograph copy, not necessarily directly.

Recently a photograph of the fly leaf of a newly found MS. of the *Khamsa* of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i, the famous Eastern Turkish poet (d. 906/1501) was sent to me by Mr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee; the MS. was not long ago acquired by the Director-General of Archaeology in India. As may be seen on the photograph, the leaf contains a quatrain, with a signature of Jāmī himself, dated the 5th Rab. I, 886/4-V-1481, and the question arises whether this is a real autograph of the poet.

A collation with the 'autographs' referred to above leaves no room for doubt as to the handwriting being quite different in this



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case. And, as far as I can see, there is equally no doubt that this supposed autograph also cannot be genuine. Even at the first glance it is obvious that the handwriting does not belong to the XVth c. It seems to be more similar to the style of the XVIIth c., with its *shikasta*-like tendencies, and especially final i's. Secondly, the most striking feature of this handwriting is its apparently being that of a man not much accustomed to writing:—letters are slanting forwards and backwards. Surely, an extremely learned theologian, author, etc., like Jāmī, at the end of his very long life, spent in studies and writing, could not write in such slipshod way. His hand, most probably, did not require special control to write automatically with uniform slanting. And thirdly, the character of the signature itself is remarkable: the poet signs his name as Nūru'd-dīn *Muhammad* 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān al-Jāmī. In all other supposed autographs, which most probably are copies from the real original autographs, his name appears as simply *al-faqīr* 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Jāmī. This form seems to be genuine: the surname Nūru'd-dīn, 'the light of the religion', is a honorific surname, given to him by others. As such, it would not be in consonance with the official profession of humility of a devout Ṣūfī, as Jāmī surely was. And with regard to the name *Muhammad*, although I cannot feel certain, but as far as I can remember, I have *never* seen anywhere Jāmī's name in this form. It is a purely Indian Muslim custom to regard that the name *Muhammad* is implied with any Muslim male name. In Persia, and especially in the XVth c., 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān was only 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, and *Muhammad* was only *Muhammad*.

All these three facts plainly suggest that the inscription was made by an unskilled hand in India some time about the beginning of the XVIIth c., or later. It is of course impossible to be certain without comparing it with a perfectly genuine signature of Jāmī; but so long as it is not found, we have only to depend on inferences from different probabilities, and I cannot find any sound reason to remove the objections raised above against the belief in this 'autograph' being genuine.

Thus the new find does not bring us any solution of the problem; we may only hope that a discovery of an indubitable specimen of Jāmī's handwriting may one day clear the matter.



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The Origins of Ismā'ilism. A Study of the Historical Background of the Fāṭimid Caliphate. By Bernard Lewis, B.A., Ph.D. (London). Cambridge (Heffer and Sons), 1940. Pp. viii+114, and a table. Demi 8°.

The progress of Oriental research gradually brings more information about one of the most difficult problems in the history of Islam,—the origin and the nature of the Ismaili movement. Not long ago, in 1934, Prince P. Mamour had published a work, "Prolemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs". And now we have yet another work, dealing approximately with the same subject, by Dr. B. Lewis. The author has spared neither time nor labour in collecting relevant information from old and new works. Every student, especially those who work far away from up-to-date libraries, will greatly appreciate his book. To be frank, it would be really precious had the author limited himself to a complete, impartial, and dispassionate summary of the available information, including the two new sources which he introduces for the first time: the early historical work of Thābit b. Sinān aṣ-Ṣābī (d. 365/974), and an esoteric opuscle ascribed to Sayyid-nā al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 533/1138), the *Ghāyatu'l-mawālīd*.

It is rather unfortunate,—as far as I can see,—that the chief aim of the author was to offer his own theory of the origin of the movement, of the Fatimid dynasty, and of the sect of the Qarmatians. All these appear to me to be rather unconvincing. On the whole he upholds the usual theory about 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh being the founder, or one of the founders of Ismailism, and the progenitor, or, again, one of the progenitors of the Fatimids, because the author introduces a complex theory that some of the Fatimids were real Fatimids, and some were Qaddahids. Contrary to the general ideas about the Ismailis and the Qarmatians being one and the same sect, or, in reality, most probably, two branches of one original community, however divergent in tenets at later periods, he regards the Qarmatians as belonging to quite a different religion, "converted" to the faith of the Fatimids at a later period.

The part played by 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn, taken critically, is very enigmatic. Nothing can be regarded as certain beyond his being associated with the circles from which the Ismaili movement sprang. Even the enemies of the Ismailis, who made a great fuss of this allegation, are not unanimous about it. The genuine Ismaili tradition has no room for him in its history. This, surely, must be regarded as an important fact, because the sect has preserved the memory of many early saints.



For the theory that the same worthy was the progenitor of the Fatimids we have no reliable proof whatever. The available information is so conflicting, so obviously falsified, intentionally or unintentionally, that the matter has to be given up as hopeless. It will suffice to mention that the date of the death of Ibn Maymūn varies in different speculations within the limits of nearly a hundred years. And this obviously obscure matter is rendered still more complicated by the new theory offered by the author.

His reasoning far too much relies on the information contained in esoteric speculations. He not only relies on sources of Ismaili origin, but also, and chiefly, on sectarian works even with more or less anti-Ismaili bias, namely the religious books of the Druzes. These, as is known, believe that between Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and al-Mahdī there were not *three* "concealed" Imams, as the Ismailis believe, but *seven*. The Ismaili version apparently has remained unaltered since the earliest times; traces of this version are found in the works of early heresiologists and historians. The same theory is also accepted in all Ismaili esoteric works. But the Druzes, obsessed by their cabbalistic speculations as to the mystic meaning of numbers, and probably some other beliefs which are not yet sufficiently clear, make their number seven.

It is necessary to sound a note of warning against all trusting much esoteric works. It seems quite logical to think that in esoteric literature which by its nature is only intended for a few properly initiated, devout, tested, trusted, etc., followers of religion, the authors can afford to speak the truth as it is, unvarnished and unadulterated: "gentlemen, we are alone now, and our outspokenness cannot threaten to upset anybody's insufficiently strong faith. We are mature people whose long tested devotion can stand any further test; we need no make up, and can look upon the facts as they are, however, unpalatable or hard they may be. Therefore let us call a spade a spade, and take stock of the situation as it is."

All this appears so natural to us, but entirely unnatural and absurd to the mystics. It is the Western worship of "fact as it is". But mystics and esoterists have nothing to do with this: for them in the collision of fact with fiction the latter is always victorious; fact is despised, not worshipped. The reverend esoteric author would differently address his readers: "gentlemen, we are alone now, and no uninitiated would interfere with his naïve and silly questions as to whether what we say does agree with the real state of things in life. We all are perfectly trained in credulity, in accepting without questioning and demure anything that is found in religious books. Let us therefore give up all vexatious restraint, and ubridge our fantasy, enjoying its unimpeded flight to the full."

Mystics and esoterists not only can be found in any community; they even may co-exist with ordinary man in one and the same person. Ismaili literature has many proofs of this. The learned Sayyid-nā Idrīs appears as a highly religious, and yet quite sober



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mindful historian in his *‘Uyūnu’l-akhbār*. But in his esoteric work, the *Zuhru’l-ma‘ānī*, where in the XIth chapter, dealing with the Imams, he reveals quite surprising things, having no connection with real facts, he forgets all that he has said there. Similarly, the admirable jurist, the author of the classic legal code of Ismailism, the *Da‘ā’imu’l-Islām*, loses all his commonsense and sobriety in an esoteric work, the *Asāsu’t-ta’wīl*, unceremoniously making Biblical and Coranic ancient saints and prophets think and talk whatever he pleases. The highly esoteric Druze works, on which Dr. Lewis relies so much, surely, have no regard for facts. To their authors, I am perfectly sure, it mattered little whether there were three, seven, twenty-seven, or seventy-seven Imams; their attention and interest were entirely absorbed by the mystic play of the numerical values of the names, letters, etc. It should be taken as a fundamental principle that the testimony of esoteric works of any kind should be accepted with the greatest caution and reserve.

In order to reconcile the Druze version about seven Imams with that of the Ismaili tradition about three, Dr. Lewis makes use of the theory about the *mustawda’* and the *mustaqirr* Imams, as he finds it in the *Kalāmi Pīr*, and some other Persian Nizārī works. He commits the most elementary, glaring, and obvious error of treating Ismailism as something stationary and uniform, and completely disregarding its evolution, sectarian differences, etc. The theory of the *mustawda’* Imam was surely not yet developed at the earliest period of the Ismaili history; in any case, it was never treated as a sort of a working routine institution. On the contrary, the theory mostly had a retrospective nature, and was applied, most reluctantly, as the last means to mend the breaking line of succession. On p. 37 the author discusses at length one of the most amazing statements of the *Kalāmi Pīr*, about Mūsā b. Ja‘far being regarded as a *mustawda’* Imam, a statement which is probably unique in Ismaili literature. But it is explained very easily: the *Kalāmi Pīr* almost for certain was composed in Khorasan, where Imam Ridā, and through him his father, Mūsā, are much revered as great local saints, even by the Ismailis. Therefore the recognition of Mūsā b. Ja‘far as a *mustawda’* Imam is nothing but a crude and naïve attempt at reconciling the local practice with the theory of Ismailism. Such isolated cases obviously prove nothing.

The idea of the descent of the Fatimids from Ibn al-Qaddāh, however widespread, appears quite improbable on a careful analysis, although, of course, in such matters one cannot base his opinion on documents. I would not, with Prof. Gibb and Dr. Lewis, so lightly dismiss the theory of P. Mamour about the confusion in names and surnames of the Imams being to an extent responsible for different theories of their origin. Although it seems that Prince Mamour did not refer to Ismaili works, his “guess” is not new: in this he was forestalled by al-Mu‘izz himself. According to him the expressions such as *Maymūn*, or, as he explains it, *Maymūnu’n-naqībat*, i.e. “the (Divinely) blessed one in (his great)

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undertakings", really was amongst the surnames of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il. And also al-Qaddāh, which does not only mean "oculist", but also "flint",—"the (Divine) Flint, striking the sparks of wisdom in the world". The "Divine Blessed Flint", as a "code word" for the name of the Imam, whom every one amongst the followers was afraid to call correctly even amongst his close relatives, seems quite good. It resembles the terminology of the modern 'Alī-ilāhīs,—*dhāti qurs*, the "hard substance", as against *dhāti miḥmān*, "the guest-like substance", applied correspondingly to denote the Imams as against every other living being in the fleeting world.

The theory that the Qarmatians originally had nothing to do with the Ismailis seems to me an unnecessary "extremism", not supported by available sources, or by the greatly prevailing opinions of all historians about these two sects being in reality one; nor, again, by clear traces of a certain inner relation between them. I think that of the two widespread theories, about 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn being the progenitor of the Fatimids, and of the Qarmatians being closely related to the Ismailis, the second has much more ground under it, and however little we know about this fanatical sect, it may be based on some proofs, while the first cannot be supported by any.

There are many secondary matters and statements which call for criticism or correction, but it would be too long to refer to them. On the whole, the student should feel grateful to the author for his painstaking work, while at the same time he must remain on guard against the theories which may mislead those who have no easy means to verify the statements of the author, thus adding to the confusion which still remains in a matter of such importance as the origin of one of the main currents in Islam which exercised such far reaching influence upon Islam and its culture.

W. I.

Bayān Madhhabī'l-Bāṭiniya wa Buṭlānuhu manqūl min Qawā'id 'aqā'id āl Muḥammad of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ad-Daylamī = *Die Geheimlehre der Batiniten nach der "Dogmatik des Hauses Muhammad"*. Herausgegeben von R. Strothmann. Pp. 18, 138. *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 11. Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Brockhaus, Leipzig. Istanbul, Staatsdruckerei, 1938-39. Price, not mentioned.

The progress of our knowledge concerning Ismailis at the present time is due mainly, if not solely, to the study of their own literature. For, it is obvious that the tales of Sharar and Hammer, and the diatribes of Nizāmu'l-Mulk and Daylamī cannot satisfy the unbiased mind. Nevertheless the views of a learned Zaydī theologian of the 7/13th century of the Ismailism prevalent in the Yemen in his day cannot but be of interest to us; therefore



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Dr. R. Strothmann's edition of Daylamī's treatise, *Bayān Madhhabī'l-Bāṭiniya*, is to be welcomed. This work, completed in 707/1307, is an extract from a larger work of the author, *Qawā'id 'Aqā'id Āl Muḥammad*, which was itself based on the *faqīh* Ḥamīd al-Maḥallī's work, *al-Husām al-Battār*; and throughout the present book one always feels the edge of this "sharp sword". The edition is based on a unique MS. in the collection of the Imām Yaḥyā of the Yemen.

Contrary to the practice of the majority of writers of controversial works, who derive their information either from hearsay or the resources of their own fertile imagination, Daylamī apparently had access to genuine Ismaili works. His general attitude however is so narrow, bigoted and hostile (p. 3, lines 15–18 or p. 4, line 7, for instance) that he has fallen into many positive errors; and occasionally there is a suspicion of malicious perversion as well. Daylamī refers to certain genuine Ismaili works like *al-Balāghu'l-Akbar* of al-Qayruwānī (p. 117)¹; *Ta'wīlu'sh-Sharī'a* of as-Sijistānī²; the famous corpus of *fiqh*, *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*³ of al-Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, and one or two others. While in some respects the information supplied is accurate, it is generally vitiated by the author's excessive zeal to demonstrate the absolute *kufṛ* of the unfortunate Ismailis. The work thus degenerates in the main to a detailed refutation of their *islām* and a proof of their *kufṛ*.

A complete list of the author's errors and perversions would be out of place in a review, but a few typical examples may be taken to put the reader on his guard. For instance, he repeats the usual theory about the Ismā'īliya or Bāṭiniya being identically the same as the Ta'limiya, Qarāmiya, Qarmatiya, Sab'iya, and also Khurramiya, Bābakiya, Muḥammara and Khurramdiniya. It is to be remembered that the term Bāṭiniya is wider than Ismā'īliya, and is applied to all Islamic schools which favoured, under certain circumstances, the allegorical interpretation of the *Qur'ān*. The term Sab'iya, if not based upon a common error, can probably only be strictly applied to the Qarāmiya, a sect which at a very early date deviated considerably from the recognized forms of Ismailism. And historically, it is now possible to demonstrate, that the religious movements known as the "heretical" sects of the Bābakiya, Khurramiya, and a few others had little or nothing to do with the Ismailis.

On p. 5, line 16, he asserts that Ismailis believe in two gods. This is probably due to a misunderstanding about the Ismaili theory of creation, and of the true natures of the two '*aqls*,—*awwal* and *thānī*. This is an error for which it is sufficient to cite the *Tājū'l-'aqā'id*, arts. 1, 16 and specially 17 (W. Ivanow, *A Creed of the Fatimids*, pp. 25 and 28–30).

¹ Compare W. Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, No. 23(?).

² Compare W. Ivanow, *Guide*, No. 384(?). Probably both these are lost.

³ See *JRAS* for 1934, 20–25: W. Ivanow, *Guide*, No. 64; *EI*, iii, 953–954.



On p. 81, l. 7, the author suggests that in certain instances the *sharī'a* commands may be broken with impunity by the higher initiates. This is a gross, but common, error. The teaching of the *Da'ā'im* however is quite the opposite, and a study of the Ismaili authorities shows that even so high a dignitary as the *dā'ī* cannot be freed from the obligations of the law.¹

On p. 84, l. 15, Daylamī suggests that Ismailism, in its unlimited immorality, considers homosexual and incestuous unions as legally permissible. This is an extraordinary statement, and if the author had access to the *Da'ā'im*, can hardly be attributed to anything except malice. The *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām* (Book II, Cap. on *nikāh*) expressly mentions a long list of persons with whom marriage is not permissible, and does not countenance either incest or sodomy. And in this respect the Ismailis fall in a line with all the orthodox schools of Islamic law.

Instances of similar zeal in discovering the *kuf*r of the Ismailis are too numerous for a complete enumeration. The work, however, is of great interest in giving us an insight into the mentality of a Zaydī theologian of the 7th/13th century with regard to Ismailism in general, and reflects to a large extent the atmosphere of hostility and enmity existing at that time between the two communities.

The text is carefully edited by Dr. R. Strothmann and provided with full and adequate indexes. In writing the introduction, however, the learned editor has not been very successful; he has made an inadequate use of the published material on Ismailism, and we are not told in particular, how far Daylamī's criticism of Ismaili doctrine is justifiable or otherwise. Such a study would have been of great use to students of Ismailism.

A. A. A. F.

March, 1940.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, 1936-7.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the year ending 31st July, 1938.

Archaeological Department, Travancore State ; Administration Report, 1113 M.E.

The Archaeological Department of the Baroda State which was recently started has done, as these reports show, commendable work during the years 1936-38 under the direction of Dr. Hiranand Shastri. It has taken in hand and achieved the conservation, restoration, and listing of ancient monuments, and has rescued

¹ W. Ivanow, "Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda", *JBBRAS* for 1939, 15 and 21.



for the posterity many old structures and works of art from ruin. The excavations at Amreli which are still in progress have already yielded substantial results. Among the finds were terracottas, pottery, conch bangles, etc., an interesting clay die apparently of the later Gupta period, a copperplate grant of Khargraha I, and 2,000 silver coins of Kumargupta I. Another interesting find was a clay model found near what appears to have been a goldsmith's furnace, which according to Sir John Marshall, dates back to the 3rd or the 4th century, and was used probably for making clay plaques (to be covered with metal foil and used as ornaments) or for the quick fashioning of repousse metal work. The excavations at old Patan, also yet incomplete, have revealed in part the reservoir and aqueducts constructed by Sidharaj I. In an Appendix to the report for 1936-37 Dr. Vogel contributes an interesting paper on : A Hollander's description of Baroda in 1625 A.D. based on the Remonstrantie of Wallebrandt Geleynssen de Jongh.

The Travancore report is also an interesting record of similar work, though on a somewhat smaller scale of conservation, and listing of ancient monuments. The Department has collected and deciphered 17 inscriptions found in the State, and has copied old mural paintings. Excavation work, which was undertaken, holds great promise. Trial diggings at Padmanabhapuram and Viliñjam revealed the existence of old structures and images.

The Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta of Līlāśuka, A Mediaeval Vaiṣṇava Devotional poem in Sanskrit, with three Sanskrit commentaries of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava School. Critically edited by S. K. De, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Dacca. Published by the University of Dacca, 1938 (Series, No. 5), pp. 87+335. Rs.6.

This volume contains the Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta Stotra of Līlāśuka, otherwise known as Bilvamañgala, in its Bengal Recension containing only one Śataka or 112 Ślokas. Along with it are published three commentaries, all of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava School, namely, Kṛṣṇavallabhā of Gopālabhaṭṭa, Subodhinī of Caitanyadāsa, and Sāraṅgaraṅgadā of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. The other two Śatakas which form part of the Stotra in the Southern Recension, are given in Appendix I, while Appendix II contains the text of the Bilvamañgala Kośakāvya, another work of Līlāśuka. Several useful indexes are added at the end of the volume.

The Stotra in its Bengal Recension is critically edited from 11 MSS., all of them containing one or the other of the abovementioned commentaries. In the Introduction, the learned editor discusses the question of the original extent of the Stotra and concludes that it originally consisted of only one Śataka or 112 Ślokas as preserved, almost intact, in the Bengal Recension. The other Śatakas in his opinion, had their nucleus made up by verses culled



from other poems ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala, but into its swelling bulk verses of a similar character by other poets also found their way. The editor bases his conclusion mainly on three grounds: namely, (1) the greater reliability of the Bengal tradition which is preserved enthusiastically, and hence carefully, by the followers of a religious sect (pp. IX–XII), (2) the fact that about 30 stanzas from the second and about 40 stanzas from the third Śataka are found in the other works ascribed to Līlāśuka (pp. XXIII–XXIV), and (3) the comparative inferiority of the level of literary quality of the last two Śatakas (p. XXV).

This conclusion however, does not seem to be quite convincing. Bilvamaṅgala or Līlāśuka is admittedly a Southerner, and the tradition about his works, originated and preserved in his own homeland cannot be easily set aside unless some very definite proof to the contrary is available. None of the points urged by the editor are, in our opinion, able to disprove conclusively the authenticity of the 2nd and the 3rd Śatakas of the Stotra. All MSS. of the Stotra available outside Bengal, and especially in the South and West, uniformly adopt the last two Śatakas as a part of the Stotra, though they differ in respect of the number of verses in them. And this difference in respect of number is easily accountable owing to the possibility of interpolation in such works, particularly when a Śataka may contain any number of verses which are a little more or less than 100, and when the work was not adopted as a sort of their text and faithfully preserved, by a religious sect. Besides, there does not exist any strong motive for the compilation of the two last Śatakas by a later writer (who must be supposed to be later than Caitanya and earlier than Pāpayallaya Sūri) and their being tacked on to the first Śataka. It is again difficult to know why only two Śatakas and not one nor three, should have been added by this unknown writer; the influence of Bhartṛhari's Śatakatrāya cannot have been responsible for this, since, in that case, the three Śatakas would have dealt with allied but mutually exclusive topics as, for example, is seen in the Śatakatrāya of the Jainas.

On the other hand, it is quite probable that Caitanya might have brought back from the South, only one, the first and the best, of the three Śatakas of the Stotra and we do not see why this is not 'likely'. Even though the Stotra consists of three Śatakas, each one of these is complete in itself and is quite sufficient for the purpose for which it was chosen by the importer, i.e. Caitanya, who surely must have been greatly impressed by its 'devotional fervour' rather than its literary beauty and unity. It is also quite possible that the Kośakāvya and the Kṛṣṇastuti may have got a large number of stanzas from the two Śatakas interpolated into them; the extent of these former was unlimited and in course of time quite naturally other similar stanzas from the pen of the same author were added on to them.

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Ṛgvedavyākhyā Mādhavakṛtā. Edited by Prof. C. Kuhnana Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.). Published by the Adyar Library, pp. 472, 1939.

This old Sanskrit commentary on the Ṛgveda was serially published in the Brahnavidyā, the Bulletin of the Adyar Library. It is now offered to the public in a book form. It contains the commentary on Sūktas 1 to 61 of Maṇḍala I. The edition is based upon a single manuscript, which is also not very correctly written and is damaged in some places. It is however, very carefully edited and the possible corrections are rightly shown in the footnotes.

The commentary is a running paraphrase of the Sūktas with some occasional remarks of philological interest. It may not be very useful in the exegesis of the Ṛgvedic Sūktas, yet its publication is welcome from various points of view. The author of this commentary is one Mādhava, who is different from Sāyana Mādhava and also from Mādhava, son of Veṅkaṭarāya. All the three Mādhavas are the commentators of the Ṛgveda, yet our Mādhava is the oldest among them all. Devarāja, the author of the Nighaṇṭubhāṣya, mixes up these three authors in his quotations. In the present edition, the commentary of the second Mādhava, son of Veṅkaṭarāya is given just below the commentary of our Mādhava for the sake of comparison. Our Mādhava is also quoted by Skandasvāmin, the author of the Ṛgvedabhāṣya, as is shown by the editor at Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. V, pp. 323-325.

H. D. VELANKAR.

Bṛhatī of Prabhākara Miśra with the Bhāṣyapariśiṣṭa of Salikanatha (Tarkapāda). Edited by S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, University of Madras, 1936. Price Rs.2-8-0.

This book is styled as the second part of the third number in the Madras University Sanskrit Series of which the general editor is Dr. C. Kuhnana Raja, Head of the Department of Sanskrit. In the first twenty-eight pages Dr. Raja writes a scholarly introduction, making certain tentative suggestions on certain knotty points about Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's authorship of commentaries on the Śābarabhāṣya and some other commentaries alleged to have been written by Prabhākara Miśra. In the following sixty-eight pages the text of the Bṛhatī on the Tarkapāda as found in the Manuscript without the variant reading is printed. In the next eighty pages a work called Mīmāṃsābhāṣyapariśiṣṭa by Salikanatha is printed with the accepted reading on the top half of the page and with the reading of the Manuscript on the bottom half. In the

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last twenty-five pages a list of variants is given. Dr. Raja points out in his Foreword that the text of the *Bṛhatī* with alterations calculated to improve the reading of the text and with Salikanatha's commentary on it has already been published in the first part of the third number in the Madras University Sanskrit Series.

It is a well-known fact that the founders of the two *Mīmāṃsā*-schools, namely the *Bhāṭṭa* school and the *Prābhākara* school, offer quite different interpretations of the *Śābarabhāṣya* on the *Sūtras* of Jaimini. Their relative chronology is, however, a disputed fact inasmuch as *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Dr. Ganganatha Jha suggests that *Prabhākara* may be earlier than *Kumārila Bhaṭṭa* in view of his style and doctrines—a view opposed to the traditional view that he is a disciple of *Kumārila*. In view of this divergence between different points of view and the fact that *Kumārila* tries to refute many doctrines that are generally attributed to the *Prābhākara* school, the task of deciding with certainty the relative chronology of these two authors is rendered rather difficult. In the present state of our knowledge one can only infer, as Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has pointed out in the Introduction, that *Prabhākara* though himself later than *Kumārila* appears to state the views of a school of thought that may be, in fact, earlier than the *Bhāṭṭa* school. This assumption may further serve to explain why the *Prābhākara* school of *Mīmāṃsā* is known as the *gurumata* among the orthodox Pandits. Dr. Raja's attitude towards the question whether *Prabhākara* wrote any other commentary by name *Vivaraṇa* apart from his *Bṛhatī* and further whether the *Laghvi* and the *Bhāṣyadīpa* are but other names for the *Vivaraṇa*, is far from decisive. In the absence of any definite proof one cannot go indeed further than this. It is needless to point out that Dr. Raja's hypothetical suggestion that *Kumārila* first wrote the three *Tikās*, namely the *Bṛhatīkā*, the *Madhyamātikā* and the *Tuṭīkā*, followed by *Prabhākara* Mīśra's *Vivaraṇa* and then wrote his *Vārtikas* followed by the *Bṛhatī* of *Prabhākara*, lacks corroboration. As regards the various commentaries, such as the *Bṛhatīkā*, the *Madhyamātikā*, the *Tuṭīkā* and the *Vārtika* attributed to *Kumārila* on the one hand and the commentaries such as the *Bṛhatī* and the *Vivaraṇa* attributed to *Prabhākara* on the other and their exact relation with one another, nothing definite can be said at present. The much-promised Introduction to the *Prābhākara* school of *Mīmāṃsā* by *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Prof. S. Kappuswami Sastri which would have been highly appreciated is eagerly awaited. Nevertheless Dr. Raja's Introduction has served a very useful purpose in so far as he has made many valuable suggestions and has also indicated the line of research in the study of *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra*. A sort of deplorable apathy towards the study of this *Śāstra*, at present discernable among a section of modern scholars, is indeed a matter for pity. In view of this indifferent attitude the work done so far by Dr. Raja, Mr. S. K. Ramanatha Sastri and Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi in the matter of bringing to light standard



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Mīmāṃsā works is highly commendable and deserves every encouragement.

V. A. GADGIL.

1. **The Critical Examination of the Philosophy of Religion**
by Sadhu Santinatha, in two volumes published by Seth
Motilal Manickchand *alias* Pratap Seth, President, Institute
of Philosophy, Amalner ;
- and*
2. **Sādhana or Spiritual Discipline—its various Forms
(Expository and Critical)** by the same author.

The material in two volumes is arranged in the form of two Books. The First Book is entirely devoted to the exposition of all the principal religio-philosophical systems of India and the Second Book is mainly devoted to a critical examination of these systems and occidental theories about the Absolute, especially those of Spinoza, Hegel, Herbert Spencer and Green. Sādhana is nothing but Chapter VIII reproduced with many additions as foot-notes and appendices from other parts of the above-mentioned two Books. In the Second Book the author moreover states and criticizes the different conceptions about God, the future of man and his relationship to God in non-Indian religious sects such as Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism. From the wide range of subjects discussed and the logical method applied to the discussion of various problems, it appears that the author's contribution and achievement are worthy of a sincere and humble truth-seeker who has devoted more than thirty years of his life to an earnest and continuous search for the ultimate Truth. In a short review of his work such as this it is not possible to discuss critically each and every aspect of religion that he has touched. It may, however, be safely said that the author's exposition of different systems and theories is, on the whole, correct. One may also endorse his view that reverence for the Scriptures, faith in God or some supernatural being, adherence to the Law of 'Karma', belief in the self as distinct from the body and its capacity for spiritual self-discipline (*Sādhana*) and finally attainment of liberation are generally recognized as essential features of religion. It is really gratifying to note his admission that each of these features can even be supported by strong rational arguments. The author, however, strangely enough doubts their validity because none of them is based on unassailable grounds. But his so-called logical method of approach to the subject of his critical examination is not, indeed, the only criterion by which such problems as he has discussed may be solved. Nay, that method, as a matter of fact, is not at all calculated to lead to the solution of the riddle of the Universe. We would like to remind the learned Sadhu of what the great

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Upaniṣadic seer has said in this connection 'नैषा मतिस्त्वेकेणापनीया'. Mere intelligence cannot ascertain the nature of Reality. It is in the state of *Samādhi* alone that the ultimate Truth is realized, especially in a *Samādhi* known as *Nirvikalpa* where the self becomes one with the Reality. When a devotee or a *Sādhaka* tries to explain this state it is inevitable that he would express his experience of it according to his mode of reasoning in the normal state of mind. The divergence between the views of the *Sādhakas* about this state does not in any way disprove the existence of the state itself. Our common experience tells us that the same thing is described by different people according to their light, even though the existence of the thing itself is not in the least disputed thereby. It is very strange that a person who has experienced a peculiar type of joy should find it necessary to rely on the sanction of some other outside agency for the validity of that experience of joy. Surely such a thing seems to have happened in the case of the author of the work under review. It is sheer irony of fate that a spiritual seeker and staunch believer who attained to the state of *Samādhi*, as the learned Sadhu would have us believe, should not be able to reach the ultimate Reality but should find, to our utter dismay, the faculty of reasoning as his saviour and thus end his spiritual journey as an inveterate agnostic after a very strenuous and long period of self-discipline. With his mind thus divorced from the Reality and consequently feeling shaky about the existence of higher spiritual powers, the author endeavours to interpret and measure religious concepts and their influence on human life in the terms of an agnostic with the result that one can read his sense of utter failure and disappointment writ large on every page of the work which would otherwise have been a monumental achievement to the eternal glory of the learned Sadhu. The only explanation of this strange and unfortunate condition that can be offered is that the author had not the good luck of meeting a worthy *Guru* for a disciple of his type. The fact that he has not mentioned any *Guru* in his work goes to support this explanation. If it is necessary to have a teacher for guidance in other subjects it is more so in spiritual matters. Besides one finds from his exposition of the *Bhakti Sādhana* that the author himself lacks in the highest type of *Bhakti* which is absolutely necessary for the realization of the ultimate Reality. We, therefore, sincerely hope and pray that God may bless the Sadhu with the guidance of a worthy *Guru* so that the Sadhu may some day come forward and say like a great *ācārya* that the present work is in the nature of a पूर्वपक्ष and that he would now state the सिद्धान्त view-point according to which the existence of God or the ultimate Reality is established beyond doubt by the revelations of our great *Seers*.

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‘**The Baiga**’ An Ethnographical thesis, based on the Experimental Method. By VERRIER ELWIN. Pp. 550+xxxi. Post 8vo. London, 1939, John Murray. With Maps and Illustrations in line and half-tone. Sh.30.

Mr. Elwin presents a worthy successor to Grigson’s study of the Marya Gond, although the Baiga are a very different tribe from their Gond neighbours. Doctor Hutton, who contributes an illuminating foreword to *The Baiga* has compared it favourably with Malinowski’s *Coral Islands and their Magic*. But in fact Elwin’s book is planned on totally different lines from either of these great works, although the field of study is the same.

The application of the experimental method of scientific research has not to my knowledge been used before in anthropology. Doubtless the methods used by field workers are always similar, but the plan on which Elwin’s book is presented registers to the scientifically-minded an advance on previous systems. We may perhaps date modern anthropology from Frazer’s *Golden Bough*, which was confessedly an armchair study; but since the examination of Man and his external organization began to be carried by professionals to the remotest of the primitive villages where aborigines live, ethnography has at least begun to claim the title of a science.

Since previous studies of primitives have always suffered from an excess of theorising, and the author’s judgement has been constantly used as a yardstick, anthropology has justly been regarded by all but its practitioners as a pseudo-science. It is possible that *The Baiga* makes the first claim to objectivity by laboratory standards. Elwin has lived among his primitives for six years or more, has learned their language, and through his own Franciscan way of life, has been admitted to the secret counsels of the Baiga with a completeness to which no ordinary observer could pretend.

He himself explains his uncanny penetration into the Baiga heart and mind by a quotation from his Baiga friends on an occasion when they were reproached with not having made proper arrangements to receive him in a remote village:

‘He is such an ordinary man (*māmuli admi*) that when we see him coming we say, Oh it’s only *bara bhai*, there’s no need to bother!’

The sobriquet *bara bhai* tells its own story: it is largely this very human approach to the subject of study that makes *The Baiga* so extremely readable as well as sound.

With a wealth of first-hand material obtained in this manner, Elwin has chosen to present his records as far as possible through the lips of the Baiga themselves. Since he gives names and places in his book, it is possible for any other anthropologist to verify Elwin’s experiments by repeating them under the same conditions, and thus scientific objectivity is served.

A prominent section of the book consists of autobiographies of selected Baiga, taken down from their own words, and carrying

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the conviction of authenticity by their disarming candour. The detailed examination of magical rites, their origins—according to the Baiga themselves—and their reasonable basis, both intellectual and emotional, is far more complete than anything by Eliphas Levi. Verrier Elwin is a distinguished poet, which fits him to transcribe every facet of Baiga life and personality with a clarity which makes this interesting people stand out like animated free-standing sculpture. The poetic faculty has its drawbacks, too: Elwin shows a tendency to romanticise the personal relationships of Baiga, particularly their sexual affairs; and in presenting this part of his thesis, he uses the device of quoting a great deal of Baiga poetry. Naturally the fine vehicle of an English poet's vocabulary does more than justice to the crude ideas of the Baiga on love, to take but one example.

One of the most interesting features about this tribe is their passionate adherence to the practice of *bewar*, the method of cultivation by felling and firing the forest, after which the seed is sown in the ashes. In this respect only Elwin departs from his objective treatment of his friends (for the Baiga are, clearly, in intimate and affectionate personal relations with this author); and makes a stirring plea for a sane reversal of misinformed Government policy on *bewar*. The whole complex of Forest Laws seems to Elwin to press very hardly on the Baiga—without any useful purpose being served; and it is difficult to see who but Elwin can have a complete grasp of the facts in this controversial question. On no other subject does the author of *The Baiga* offer an opinion which is unsupported by the work of other field ethnographers.

The student of anthropometry will find no tabulated data in this book; which is, indeed, long enough without such extraneous matter. In its place he will find a large number of excellent photographs and line drawings by the sculptor, Mrs. Marguerite Milward, which illustrate details not recordable by the camera. There are also plans of Baiga villages, diagrams to illustrate dances and games, so that the descriptive matter is fully supported by visual material.

For the benefit of those who will use *The Baiga* as a reference book, it has an exhaustive index, glossaries, tables of exogamous and endogamous relationships, and of the special names given to each member of the expanded family that is a Baiga sub-tribe.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in *The Baiga* to the non-anthropologist is on the content and interpretation of the tribesmen's dreams. Here the more unacceptable portions of the Freudian hypotheses are borne out with startling conclusiveness. Baiga dream vividly of sexual congress; they say that if they cannot have a particular woman in their waking life, they will send their *jiv* (*anima*, or discarnate body) to take her in a dream. So strong is the reality of sexual dreams as related by the Baiga that there seems to be almost no psychological frontier between waking and

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sleeping sensation. But the principle of the Censor is firmly established on ground where the Baiga suffer from all the repressions that are absent from their sexual lives. Elwin records, as nearly as possible in the words of the Baiga themselves, hundreds of anxiety dreams, where fear is the Censor artist who limns a wealth of vivid symbols to conceal the too-real fear of hunger, impotence, or of breaking the tribal laws.

It seems that the repressive mechanism is merely inverted in Baiga life, just because of the differences in reality between its concepts and those of the bourgeois Viennese circles in which Freud constructed his system of symbols. A Rivers seems badly needed on the Seoni hilltops to record, in another *Conflict and Dream*, the lessons our 'civilized' society has to learn from the primitives. Although Elwin nowhere hints at such an extravagance, the evidence which he presents also suggests that the image-material of dreams has, as was suggested by Dunne, the power of selection from a timeless reservoir of actual occurrences.

The fundamental tenet of the Baiga is that they are rooted to the soil by divine decree, which has ordained that the tribe shall know the secrets of *Dharti Mata*, Mother Earth, by virtue of their closeness to her. Hence poverty is a social virtue to this strange people: they are proud in their abasement. The same complex of emotion and tradition ties the thoughts of the Baiga to a very earthly view of copulation and the exercise of the excremental function: the mythical origins of their being (to which Baiga hold as firmly as Moslems trust the Holy Koran) might be described as Neo-Lawrentian—and they are covered with great insight by Verrier Elwin.

EVELYN WOOD.

Descriptive Catalog of the Garret Collection of Persian, Turkish and Indic Manuscripts including some Miniatures in the Princeton University Library. By MOHAMAD E. MOGHADAM YAHYA ARMAJANI, under the supervision of Philip K. Hitti. Princeton, 1939; pp. iii+94+x; large 8°.

This is yet another well-printed American catalogue of yet another American millionaire's tiny collection of 150 Persian, and a few Turkish and Urdu MSS., similar in character to several already known. As other collections of this type, it does not contain any new, rare or unique works of importance for research. As usual, there are several *de luxe* copies, but they are for show case, and not for study. The technique of cataloguing, unfortunately, is exactly the same as in the Catalogue ('Catalog') of the Arabic portion of the same collection, reviewed by me in the 'Islamic Culture' for 1939 (pp. 516-519), and it is unnecessary to discuss the matter again.

The only feature which may be emphasized here is the remarkable fact that almost all Persian MSS. in this collection, according to

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the 'Catalog', appear to be written in a hitherto unknown type of handwriting,—'Fārisi'. It is a pity that the authors do not give a reproduction of any specimen of it. Working for more than 30 years over Persian MSS., I would think that not less than about 40,000 volumes have passed through my hands, in Europe, Persia, Bukhara, India, etc.; and yet so far I have never seen, or heard about this handwriting. It looks as if the authors simply invented their own term, translating the English word *Persian*, for some unknown reason. And their translation obviously is quite incorrect: Arabs themselves call Persian—'*Ajamī*', as every one knows. It appears that even 'Indic' (—why not 'Indian', or 'Urdu'?—) MSS. are written in this 'Fārisi'. And, as is already mentioned in my preceding review, with a variety of sharply differing Persian and Indian calligraphic schools, such inarticulate definition is quite insufficient.

There are many mistakes (or misprints?) in quotations almost on every page, and the quotations themselves are often of little use; the system adopted by the authors, contrary to established practice, often appears to be insufficient for identifying the works, or versions of well-known works, because the authors with touching persistence quote the *basmala*, but never the real beginning of the work, after the doxology.

It is obviously difficult to say anything on the miniatures, a list of which appears at the end,—every owner of a collection is positive about some items in his possession that they belong to the *qalam* of Bihzād, and other celebrities. It seems to be a better system to deal with miniatures separately, and not to mix up literature with painting.

Also contrary to general practice, the authors mention in every note the name of the firm or person from whom the MS. is purchased (although nobody would suspect that any of these were stolen); these are either well-known antiquarian bookshops, or the 'antiqchis' in the towns of Near East who chiefly prey on rich tourists. It is a pity that the authors do not also add the price paid, for the sake of completeness.

W. I.

The Song of Lovers ('*Ushshāq Nāma*) by 'IRĀQĪ. Islamic Research Association Series, No. 8. Edited with Notes, English translation and an hitherto unpublished biography of the poet by DR. ARTHUR J. ARBERRY, D.Litt. Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1939, pp. xxii+184. Price Rs.5.

Fakhrū'd-Dīn b. Shahryār, famous as 'Irāqī, is one of the finest lyrical Persian poets of the 7th/13th century. His *Kulliyāt* was published twice in India, once at Cawnpore in 1909, and once at 'Adil Gadh (date not given), and contains *Qasīdas* (both Arabic and Persian), *Ghazals*, *Rubā'iyāt*, *Tarjī'āt* and a *Ṣūfī*istic *mathnawī*.



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the present '*Ushshāq Nāma* (also called '*Ishq Nāma* and *Dah Faṣl*). His more celebrated work, the *Lama'āt*, directly inspired by the *Fuṣūṣu'l-Hikam* of the famous mystic Ibnu'l-'Arabī, was also lithographed in India and partly translated by the late Professor E. G. Browne.

Dr. Arberry's statement that 'Irāqī "has unaccountably been neglected by scholars and litterateurs, both occidental and oriental" does not seem to be justified in view of the above publication of his works, as also by the consideration given him by almost all the literary-biographical works composed after his death, not to speak of the elaborate account of him given by Professor Browne in the third volume of his monumental work: of course there is no separate monograph on 'Irāqī, which is undoubtedly desirable, and Dr. Arberry who has already obliged the students of Islamic Sūfi'ism by his edition of this as well as al-Kharrāz's *Kitābu's-Ṣidq*, might be persuaded to undertake the work along with the commented edition of 'Irāqī's *Lama'āt* which he has voluntarily promised.

The learned translator claims the poem to be the "earliest extant versified treatise on this theme" with the single exception of Sanā'ī's '*Ishq Nāma*, the genuineness of which has yet to be established. It is needless to say that the poem is singularly lacking in that 'lyrical fervour' which is the distinguishing feature of 'Irāqī's other more famous poems, nor does it help us in estimating his position as an original thinker, since the poem bears the unmistakable stamp of the philosophy of Ibnu'l-'Arabī, "whose influence in Persia . . . was largely due to 'Irāqī, Awḥadu'd-Dīn of Marāgha and others of the same school". A comparative study of Ibnu'l-'Arabī and 'Irāqī might prove fruitful and interesting, but is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present review.

'Irāqī's poem discusses Divine Love in its various aspects: it is divided into ten Chapters; 1st, on Characteristics of Lovers; 2nd, on the State of Lovers and the Beloved; 3rd, on Description of Lovers; 4th, on Love; 5th, on Man's Perfection in Love; 6th, on Longing for the Beloved; 7th, on Love's Onslaughts; 8th, on Addressing the Beloved; 9th, on Love's Reality; 10th, Conclusion.

Two problems arise after reading 'Irāqī's '*Ushshāq Nāma*: firstly, the date of the poet's death, and secondly, "Is Amīr Khusrāw, the more creative and encyclopaedic contemporary of 'Irāqī, the first poet to have introduced Ghazals in a mathnawī?". Fortunately for us one answer solves both the problems. A majority of the biographers, including the author of the biography published with the text, give 688/1289 as the date of 'Irāqī's death. Only Dawlatshāh and Taqī Kāshī mention 709/1309 as the date of his death. 'Irāqī's own '*Ushshāq Nāma* confirms the latter date, for the poem is undoubtedly dedicated to Khwāja Sa'du'd-Dīn who was the wazīr of Ghāzān Khān (ruled 694-703/1295-1304) and Uljaytū Khān (1304-1317); 'Irāqī's poem, therefore, must have been composed between 694 and 709. This leaves unaffected Amīr

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Khusraw's claim to have introduced Ghazals for the first time in his mathnawī *Qirānu's-Sa'dain*, which was composed in 688/1289.

I take this opportunity of pointing out that in Persian, as well as in Arabic and Urdu, there are a number of stories in which the moving figure changes but the plot remains the same; one such instance is to be found in the present poem of 'Irāqī printed at pp. 72-75, and in which the chief actor is the famous Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111 A.D.). 'Aṭṭār has a similar story in his *Manṭiqu't-Tair*, but the hero there is the famous Shaikh of Ṣana'ā; and a majority of the literary-biographers, inclusive of Dawlatshāh and Firishṭa, narrate similar story, making 'Irāqī himself the chief character in it; any way the story needs a close scrutiny.

The translation of the poem is at times free, but always faithful, while the notes and variants are extremely useful. I hasten to congratulate Dr. Arberry for his excellent work, which every serious student of Persian poetry and Islamic Ṣufi'ism should read carefully.

C. H. SHAIKH.



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TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ a	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
आ ā	क k	ड ḍ	म m
इ i	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
ई ī	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
उ u	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऊ ū	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ऋ ṛ	च c	द d	श ś
ॠ ṝ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ऌ ḷ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ
ओ o	ट ṭ	ब b	

— (Anusvāra) ṁ	× (Jihvāmūliya) ḥ
˘ (Anunāsika) ṃ̇	⌢ (Upadhmanīya) ḥ̣
: (Visarga) ḥ	₪ (Avagraha) ’



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TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC

ا a	ز z	ق q	ـ i
ب b	س s	ك k	ُ u
ت t	ش <i>sh</i>	ل l	اَ ā
ث <i>th</i>	ص s	م m	يَ ī
ج j	ض d	ن n	وُ ū
ح h	ط t	و w	يَ ai, ay
خ <i>kh</i>	ظ z	ه h	وُ au, aw
د d	ع ʿ	ي y	silent t ḥ
ذ <i>dh</i>	غ <i>gh</i>	ر r	ـ a
ر r	ف f	ـ a	

PERSIAN

پ p	چ <i>ch</i>	ژ <i>zh</i>	گ g
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